

New Republic

ARCHITECT AND PLANNER. Nineteen years with Housing Administration. Heavy experience slum-clearance and urban re-development. Seek position with local housing authority. Will relocate.

ECONOMIST. Eleven years with Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Executive and research experience. Thorough knowledge corporate structure and financing. Seek position with large manufacturer.

MARKET ANALYST. Fourteen years with US Department of Commerce. Heavy experience, Middle East trade. Fluent command of Arabic. Will travel. Will consider post as salesman for heavy equipment manufacturer desiring to open up Middle East market.

CHINA EXPERT, MA PhD. 12 years experience, government intelligence. Thorough knowledge culture, and language. Will consider university teaching or consultant post to private industry.

SCRIPT WRITER for radio, some TV experience. Three years experience US International Information Administration, Voice of America. Can handle dramatization. Will consider position with advertising agency.

LABOR ANALYST. Seven years US Department of Labor. Expert on shift of minority groups in Industrial Employment. Thorough knowledge Eastern Seaboard. Will consider all offers.

COLLEGE GRAD, MA, PhD. Variety of research and analyst position, US Government. Also experience writing technical reports. Seek position, private research agency.

FISH AND WILDLIFE Conservation expert. Seventeen years US government agencies. Seeking post with State Park Administration. Presently situated Northwest. Will relocate.

FARM PRICE OUTLOOK ANALYST. Twelve years with the Department of Agriculture. First-hand knowledge of rural marketing problems. Will consider all offers.

Hard Times for the Intellectuals

Thousands of valuable government specialists are being fired.

Intellectuals everywhere will feel the pressures on the job market.

T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

There were several signs as Congress adjourned that the Eisenhower Administration had begun to learn the political facts of life. It's too soon, however, to judge whether, with the death of Taft, Ike will be able to make himself the new "Mr. Republican," acknowledged leader of his party in Congress as well as elected President.

Treasury Secretary Humphrey's handling of the public-debt issue was one evidence of the "new team's" belatedly developed political savvy. The major reason Ike and Humphrey waited until the last minute before asking an increase in the \$275 billion debt limit was their desire to save appropriations, including foreign aid. Had Humphrey moved three months earlier to hike the debt ceiling, the meat-ax appropriation cutters might have solved his dilemma for him by slashing funds more deeply than responsible Cabinet officials thought tolerable.

Humphrey and the President also hoped that a last-minute blitz would prove effective—that Congress, in the showdown, would not refuse what Ike insisted was necessary.

They lost this bet in the Senate, but they did get the appropriations. And Ike still has power to call Congress back for a special session in October on the debt ceiling—a power many Congressmen now expect him to exercise.

We'll wait until the end of the next regular session, however, before ourselves subscribing to the theory that the President can take over party leadership. One reason is that he hasn't demonstrated the first qualities needed—a firm conviction about the direction in which the GOP should go and intimate knowledge of the details of many political issues. Taft was Republican Congressional leader largely because of his incomparable mastery of the smallest issue and his formidable conviction that his way was right. Ike is still trying to have his mind made up for him on dozens of questions by "staff committees" and "task forces." In our kind of system, political leadership cannot be

exercised through this "chain of command" approach.

Most Republican Congressmen are still high-tariff protectionists at heart. They resent spending money to "aid foreigners." They are hell-bent to cut taxes again before election—and Ike hasn't balanced his budget for fiscal 1955.

There is a frightening backlog of work left for a Congress that, in an election year, will want nothing except to go home. The real fight on "trade not aid" policies will come when the barely-extended reciprocal trade law must be debated again. Social security expansion, Taft-Hartley revision, a new farm program—these are major issues that even a well-disciplined Congress would have trouble handling in a single session.

House Speaker Joe Martin has proved his capacity to get some things through the House for Ike—the debt-limit resolution and excess-profits tax extension are examples. But Old Guard Republicans are demanding their price in "give-away" and anti-consumer measures and

appointments about which the President seems either ignorant or helpless or both. When he earnestly demanded a larger amount of foreign aid funds and liberal Republicans tried to sup-

port him, only 24 of 219 House GOP members went along.

No, we haven't any new Mr. Republican yet.

Somehow it seems significant that business publications now get all the journalistic breaks on Taft-Hartley news. The *Wall Street Journal* scored a clean beat on what it called an Administration sponsored 19-point T-H revision bill. Earlier the US Chamber of Commerce scored a comparable beat when it issued a special supplement to its Washington letter accurately warning businessmen about Secretary Durkin's proposals to "wreck" Taft-Hartley.

The "Administration" plan on Taft-Hartley was not submitted to Congress. Allegedly the reason was a sense of propriety at the moment of Taft's death.

Actually, protests by businessmen and Republican diehards in Congress may have been the controlling reason. The plan was "too liberal," they said.

It wasn't very "liberal." Restrictions on the building trades unions would have been eased. Economic strikers would no longer have been deprived of a chance to vote against strikebreakers in Labor Relations Board elections. Federal labor law would have been declared, once again, superior to harsh union-busting state laws. The plan did not propose to re-legalize the closed shop, however, and the hated injunction procedures of the "national emergency" sections were untouched.

Ike may find it easier to put through desirable Taft-Hartley revisions because of Taft's death. The Senator from Ohio had intense pride of authorship. The potential new Republican strong man on the Senate Labor Committee is Irving M. Ives of New York, who resents his long subordination to Taft and burns to repeat on a national scale his New York State legislative leadership in drafting labor laws accepted as "fair" by both management and unions.

Sen. Mike Monroney, the tall, loose-jointed Oklahoma Democrat who finally joined lonely Senator Lehman of New York in attacking McCarthy on the Senate floor, is willing to have his fight with Joe continue a long time. It's a matter of conscience with him.

Monroney doesn't think that Joe can last, since now he has to make headlines by attacking Eisenhower instead of Harry S. Truman. He doesn't think McCarthy can lick him in Oklahoma in 1956, but is willing to take the chance.

"If it's going to be his kind of Senate, I wouldn't want to come back to it, anyway," says Monroney.

Notes: Senator Tobey's death was followed, even before the echoes of the eulogies had ceased, by action in the Senate Commerce Committee that Tobey, as former chairman, would have despised. The new chairman, Ohio's Senator Bricker, called up and got approved, without hearings, a House-passed bill to gut Federal Power Commission regulation of gas pipe-lines.



Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Terms of a Peace in Korea

UNDER THE PACT initialed by Secretary Dulles and President Rhee, the South Koreans will for the next 180 days honor the armistice and co-operate in the political conference that is to be held with the Communists. Whatever happens at the conference table during these days, soldiers will be moving homewards, hatreds will be diminishing, peace will be imperceptibly returning to Korea. So Dulles gambles that time is on our side. For while Rhee is free to go his own way in six months it will be difficult if not impossible for him to initiate a new war.

During these six months the conflicts over Korea will be between the US and the United Nations. They will start in the August 17 session of the UN Assembly, and they will turn first on the question of who will represent the UN in the political conference.

Several UN members hold that the UN should be widely represented at the conference. Our government believes that the UN side should be restricted to some of the 16 UN members who fought in the Korean War. It holds that while a hundred nations may initial a peace treaty, only two can give it reality—Korea and China. With each added participant in the peace conference, the chances of Korean and Chinese endorsement of the terms of peace grow less. The Koreans will oppose any terms supported by the Indians whom they regard as traitors to their cause. The Chinese will not debate their vital interests with Ethiopia and Ecuador.

A second dispute between the US and the UN will concern the agenda of the peace conference. The French will endeavor to place Indo-China high on the list, in the forlorn hope of persuading the Chinese to forswear all interests in that colony. The British and the Indians may argue for a broad discussion, in the belief that the peace in Korea will follow a general settlement. The

United States will urge a concentration on Korea. Our State Department experts believe that the Indo-China war raises different issues and involves different nations. And while a general settlement is far off and hard to achieve, the Korean armistice is perishable and perhaps within reach. Until we know where the Chinese stand, we must attempt to settle the Korean peace in the simplest and most direct terms.

These terms may be threefold.

Unification: Legally and morally the UN is committed to the unification of Korea. Politically, as in Germany, unification is a burning issue which if we surrender it to the Communists or Korean extremists, will lead to the collapse of the Republic, or a new war. Rhee, who is committed to unification, has so far conceded only the right of North Korea to elect a minority representative to the present national assembly. The UN may call for free elections

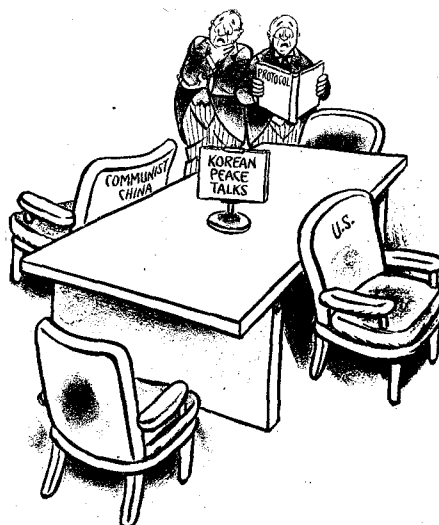
for all Korea, for a new assembly, to be held after some months of reconstruction have passed.

Neutralization: This would involve a guarantee of the frontiers of a unified Korea by both sides, followed by the gradual evacuation of foreign troops and the scaling down of the ROK army to a size which the nation can support. The pact with the US would offer additional guarantees to Korea. The legitimate security interests of China and Russia could be further protected at no real cost to Korea by a demilitarized zone in the mountain wilderness that borders on the Yalu River.

Reconstruction: The US has promised \$1 billion over three years for Korean reconstruction. The Russians have promised a much smaller sum for North Korea. The UN, we believe, may call for further grants from China and Russia and other UN members to be combined in a single program under UN supervision.

These terms would protect the vital interests of both sides. Further concessions will not be granted at the first conference by China or by the US, for the US is not prepared to further consolidate the Chinese Communist regime by trade or recognition. The Chinese Communists, in turn, are under no compulsion to give in. They have fought the US and the UN to a standstill. They have used the war to create a modern army and a powerful regime. They are as committed as we are to the illusion of victory. They believe, with good reason, that they need make no further concessions in order to gain the trade that is vital for their five-year industrialization plan.

For these reasons our experts believe it is unwise to predicate peace in Korea on a general settlement. Peace may be won if the Chinese are as eager as we are to close out the terrible chapter of the Korean conflict. If they are not yet ready, then that is no cause for a new war.



Herblock
© 1953 The Washington Post Co.

Think That Does It?

Debt and Taxes

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER is said to have promised Treasury Secretary George Humphrey to convene a special session of Congress around October 1 to raise the statutory limit on the national debt if Humphrey still thinks it necessary at that time. If Eisenhower does so, it will be against the judgment of his Senate leaders, including Majority Leader Knowland. Recalling members to Washington would only rile Congress, the leaders reason, and probably bring Eisenhower and Humphrey another turndown on the debt limit.

But there will have to be another try. It is now accepted at the White House that appropriations next year cannot be held much below the present budget. The Administration, therefore, must either increase the debt or increase taxes next year. The greenest of amateurs sees the impolitic quality of the latter suggestion in an election year.

Secretary Humphrey frankly described the problem to key men at the Governor's Conference in Seattle. The GOP governors, far more pro-Eisenhower than the Republicans in Congress, are being counted on to reason with the legislators from their states about what is good for the party in 1954. Another influential body will gather in Washington on September 18, prior to the probable time of a special session. The annual convention of the American Bankers' Association will surely hear pleas for help in selling the Administration's monetary policy too. Some of its members who help bank political

campaigns on the side can speak with particular force to Senate and House members up for re-election.

Rattling the Skeletons

THE TESTIMONY of Welburn Mayock before a House Ways and Means subcommittee, headed by Rep. Robert Kean (R, N. J.), reveals a side of the "tax scandals" issue of last year not fully investigated under the previous Democratic chairman, Cecil King (Cal.). In the 1952 campaign the Republicans capitalized on cases of systematic corruption of the Internal Revenue Bureau by racketeers and criminals to evade taxes and by petty "fixers" for a fee. Mayock's evidence gives substance to the theory that large contributors to the Democratic National Committee, under certain of its chairmen, received special consideration from powerful departments of the government.

In 1948, Mayock, a Washington lawyer associated with California oil-man Edwin W. Pauley, was one of a group who agreed to raise \$30,000 each toward the campaign fund to re-elect Harry S. Truman. Washingtonians recall that Mayock served as a kind of unofficial finance chairman for the Truman-Barkley Clubs and the famous \$1000 Club in which Ed Pauley was heavily interested. Democratic National Chairman then was Sen. Howard McGrath, later Truman's Attorney General. Finance chairman for the party was Louis A. Johnson, corporation lawyer and Truman's Secretary of Defense.

Mayock found a man, William S. Lasdon, who had been unsuccessfully seeking a favorable income-tax ruling. Mayock went directly to the then Secretary of the Treasury, John W. Snyder. Snyder personally intervened, the case was "expedited" and a favorable ruling granted. Mayock collected a fee of \$65,000. The Democratic Party received \$30,000 and the US Treasury lost an estimated \$7 million in taxes.

The art of robbing the Treasury to strengthen the party was highly developed while Andrew W. Mellon served as Secretary from 1921 to 1931 under Republicans Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. In the early Roosevelt administration, Henry Morgenthau, by careful supervision, kept tax collection relatively free from "undue influence." But when World War II distracted Roosevelt's vigilance, the Bureau of Internal Revenue was handed over to a party hack—Robert E. Hannegan, who went on to become National Chairman of the Democratic Party. As campaign costs soared, the art of Mellon was revived and improved. Both parties connived to keep the workings of that art secret until one party began to despair of ever regaining office. John Williams (R, Del.) uncovered the facts which set off a series of tax scandals in 1951. Each of the 8 most notorious characters involved in those scandals had been given their jobs after Hannegan became Revenue Commissioner in 1943.

The publicity on the Mayock story is likely to be at least a temporary deterrent to Republican temptation to use the tax machinery for the party.

New Republic

AUGUST 17, 1953 TABLE OF CONTENTS VOLUME 129 NUMBER 3 ISSUE 2021 WASHINGTON, DC

EDITOR, Michael Straight

CHAIRMAN, Editorial Board: Bruce Bliven

PUBLISHER: Gilbert A. Harrison

MANAGING EDITOR: Helen Fuller

LITERARY EDITOR: Robert Richman

STAFF WRITERS: Tom Fitzsimmons, Arnold J. Heidenheimer (on leave with the Armed Services)

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: F. R. Ruskin

COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Eric Bentley, Drama Critic; Malcolm Cowley; Robert Evett, Music Critic.

CONTRIBUTING CRITICS: W. H. Auden, Dudley Fitts, Joseph Frank, Kimon Friar, Gerald V. Johnson, V. O. Key Jr., Max Lerner, Richard Lester, Arthur Mizener, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Mark Schorer, Stephen Spender, Allen Tate

<i>Washington Wire</i> , by T. R. B.....	2	<i>Writings of de Sade</i>	18
<i>Behind the Headlines</i>	3	reviewed by Mario Praz	
<i>Trade War in Asia</i>	6	E. J. Simmons, <i>Soviet Literature</i>	1-
<i>Malenkov's Hydrogen Bomb</i> ; editorial	7	reviewed by Deming Brown	
<i>Hard Times for the Intellectuals</i>	8	Desmond MacCarthy, <i>Memories</i>	19
by Daniel Bell		reviewed by Willard Thorp	
<i>University TV: "A Public Nuisance"</i>	11	Three Novels: <i>The Streak</i> ; <i>The</i>	
by Richard S. Lewis		<i>Bridges at Toko-ri</i> ; <i>The Good-</i>	
<i>Dr. Adenauer—A Failing Ally?</i>	13	<i>For-Nothing</i>	20
by Otto W. Butz		reviewed by A. C. Webster	
<i>Italy: Ends Against the Middle</i>	15	R. H. Tawney, <i>The Attack</i>	21
by Frank Gervasi		reviewed by G. W. Johnson	
<i>Progress in Music</i>	17	Robert Madigoff, <i>The Kremlin</i>	21
by Robert Evett		reviewed by H. B. Parkes	

PHOTO OF ADENAUER BY SCHAFGANS

Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1953 in the USA by New Republic, Inc., publishing office, 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D.C. Editorial communications should be addressed to 1825 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Business communications should be addressed to 230 West 41st St., New York 36, N.Y. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950 at the post office at Washington, D.C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, \$7.00; Foreign, \$8.00

"One Fold and One Shepherd"

In "The Bishop Stood His Ground" Burke Davis in the New Republic of August 3 reported the stand taken by the Most Rev. Vincent S. Waters, Bishop of Raleigh, against segregation in his Diocese in North Carolina. A pastoral letter from Bishop Waters read at all Masses in his Diocese on June 21 is printed in part below:



The Church and her teaching has always been a challenge to the world. "Behold this child is set for the fall and for the resurrection of many in Israel and for a

sign which shall be contradicted." "You shall be hated by all men for My name's sake. But he that perseveres unto the end he shall be saved." . . .

Christ the Good Shepherd taught "there shall be one fold and one shepherd." What do we mean one fold; one flock of sheep? Do we mean a few sheep here and a few scattered there; or do we mean all united in one body? Is not the fold of Christ united in North Carolina? In one body under its shepherd? Is not the fold in the United States or in the world, united under the supreme Shepherd, the Vicar of Christ? Can there be division in the Church of God? Can we divide a living body and keep the parts living? No. Neither can we divide the Mystical Body of Christ, the Church.

In North Carolina until a few years ago there were no special Catholic churches for our colored people and all Catholics worshipped God together irrespective of race. In order to give a special impetus to the missionary work among the colored people, former bishops of Raleigh contracted with various religious communities of men and women for specialized work among these people and for the establishment of special churches and schools in some sections of the Diocese for them. Did this mean that the Church was abandoning her century old teaching of "one fold and one shepherd" or that Negroes were thereby forbidden to worship in any Catholic Church in the Diocese except those for colored? By no means. It meant that there was no division, but merely that special attention was given to a few, and all Catholics still had the

rights and privileges of worshipping God together, as everywhere in the Catholic Church. . . .

Therefore, so that in the future there can be no misunderstanding on the part of anyone, let me state here as emphatically as I can: There is no segregation of races to be tolerated in any Catholic Church in the Diocese of Raleigh. The pastors are charged with the carrying out of this teaching and shall tolerate nothing to the contrary. Otherwise, all special churches for Negroes will be abolished immediately as lending weight to the false notion that the Catholic Church, the Mystical Body of Christ, is divided. Equal rights are accorded, therefore, to every race and every nationality as is proper in any Catholic Church and within the Church building itself everyone is given the privilege to sit or kneel wherever he desires and to approach the Sacraments without any regard to race or nationality. This doctrine is to be fully explained to each convert who enters the Church from henceforth in the Diocese of Raleigh.

As Americans who have a reputation for defending the poor and the weak of all races in all parts of the world; as Christians who should be closing our ranks to atheistic Communism on our frontiers; as Catholics who rejoice to be found worthy to suffer for the sake of Christ, let each and every Catholic, worthy of the name in the Diocese of Raleigh, be courageous enough to correct any abuse of this kind in the house of God, remembering the promise of Christ, "As often as you have done it to these the least of My brethren, you have done it to Me."

Thank God such abuse has not been general or widespread. North Carolina and the Diocese of Raleigh have been for the most part an example to the nation and to the Church in its correct Christian attitude on this subject. Witness the unity and the work of Catholics of all races in the Legion of Mary, and in the North Carolina Catholic Laymen's Association. Witness the colored priests and bishops who have visited and been welcomed in the Diocese. Witness our three colored seminarians, and the Catholic Mother of 1952, a colored Catholic, chosen by twelve Southern white ladies. . . . Our colored Catholics have served with distinction as officers in our diocesan societies and have attended retreats and conventions together. Our col-

ored children have competed in all oratorical contests and have taken top honors many times. We are proud of our colored Catholics of North Carolina, some of whom are graduates of Catholic universities, colleges and schools; some are business and professional persons of the highest education and culture; but we are especially proud of them because they are good religious men and women and belong to us as we do to them in the same communion of the Mystical Body of Christ—the Church.

I am not unmindful, as a Southerner, of the force of this virus of prejudice among some persons in the South, as well as in the North. I know, however, that there is a cure for this virus and that is, our Faith. Many Southern boys facing death together in the trenches will bear me out. I revolt against our children's being infected with this virus, when men and women of good-will everywhere can preserve them from it. The virus will not die out of itself, it has to be killed by being exposed to the light of Faith.

The Church does not propose tolerance which is negative, but love which is positive. If Christ said love your enemies, we certainly can love our friends. These are our friends and members of our own body, the Church. It is our duty, as Christians of the early days, not only to love them but to serve them, to help them. We need to help them get better educational facilities, better opportunities for culture, better living conditions, better jobs, better pay, better homes and families, better civic representation and better friendliness in the community and all of this presupposes the right to worship God freely with us in the Church anywhere.

As pastor of your souls, I am happy to take the responsibility for any evil which might result from different races worshipping God together, but I would be unwilling to take the responsibility of those who refuse to worship God with a person of another race. May the example of American soldiers who died to stamp out a philosophy of "the Master Race" in a war with Hitler in Germany prevent us from following a similar course.

My only sorrow is the fear that I shall not convince you of the wiles of Satan. But I shall be able to convince you if I love you enough, and if you love me you will understand, for God has first loved us. . . .

Paris Dispatch: TRADE WAR IN ASIA

Western Europe expects the end of the fighting war in Korea to be followed very quickly by the start of a no-holds-barred trade war throughout Asia. It will be at once a commercial and a political struggle, a fight within Asia and for Asia. Now that Communist China has forced a military stalemate on the combined power of the Western nations, Peiping with Soviet Russian backing will try to win commercial dominance of Southeast Asia from US-supported Japan. Great Britain, Germany and other Western European nations will try to capture part of the huge new Chinese market. And big business in the US, despite the Battle Act, the McCarthy subcommittee and the China Lobby, will also be a major contestant for this rich prize.

Some of the signs of this impending struggle are already cropping up in the news from Japan, China and Southeast Asia. One of them is the return of the *Zaibatsu* in Japan. The parliament in Tokyo has passed a new pro-cartel law which clears the path for politically-colored domination of business by the old big three, Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo. Another is the demand of the Japanese Iron and Steel Association for a tight monopoly of iron and steel exports so as to reduce prices to meet foreign competition.

Yet another sign is the appearance within Communist China of relative leniency toward vestiges of "capitalist" ways, comparable to similar developments in the Soviet's European satellites. Also, in Hong-kong the US dollar is quoted at a higher premium than anywhere else in the world. This is taken in London to mean that the Chinese—in Peiping and on Formosa as well as in the British Crown Colony—look forward to large-scale US participation in the trade war. There are precedents in the quite recent past as well as in the age-old Chinese past dominated by the tradition of "flexibility" in such matters. For example, a high official of Chiang Kai-shek's Purchasing and Trade Commission turned up in East Berlin. And goods from Mao Tse-tung's China, after having been

bartered for munitions in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and after having passed through East and West Germany, are said to have turned up in recognizable form in the US.

While it seems undoubtedly true that some British shipping companies may have been guilty of trading with the Chinese enemy, the British Government, public opinion generally and an overwhelmingly large proportion of businessmen have vigorously opposed such practices. Now that the fighting in Korea has stopped, however, the British attitude is that the government should give real support to those enterprising enough to do business in what is considered a difficult and dangerous area. Moreover, officials say, "There must be no taint attached to those who trade with China. The policy must be that of Whitehall and not that of Washington."

The British have intense interest in taking full advantage of any possible lessening of cold war tension, both in Europe and in Asia. The reason is well put by the independent conservative *London Observer*: "Britain is exceptionally dependent on a world-wide, fine-spun, many-meshed net of commercial relations. We have to accept war, hot or cold, when there is a clear and present threat to our security and existence. But to prolong cold war needlessly when that threat shows signs of ceasing, for the sake of any triumph of ideology or prestige . . . is, for Britain, a ruinous mistake."



This point of view, widely shared though not so openly and clearly stated in the Western European countries, has already led to the strengthening of trade relations with the Soviet Union since the start of the Malenkov goodwill offensive and the exploratory East-West talks in Geneva last spring. The cold shoulder turned by the practical operators in the Eisenhower Administration to Chancellor Butler's reasonable doctrine of trade not aid has been a big factor prompting France, Denmark, the Netherlands and Greece to sign new trade agreements with Moscow. There

probably will be a British agreement involving a larger volume of trade than all the others combined, and making her again Russia's best customer for timber, furs, metal ores and grain.

The fact is that the increase in trade foreseen between the Soviets and Western Europe is only a start, and a symbol of a much larger development over a far broader area of the Soviet world's contacts with the Western world.

Asia presents a broader field and a bigger stake. The *London Times* reports anxiety in high places in Washington about the chances of preventing Communist China from defeating Japan in the trade war for Southeast Asia. There is fear that at the post-Korean political conference, China might be "reasonable" about Korean unification in exchange for a seat in the United Nations and the relaxation of the trade embargo.

The political dilemma which faces the US at the post-Korean conference seems to many Western Europeans to result from the clash within US policy of a number of goals of the sort George Kennan might call moralistic. It would be "immoral" to allow Mao's China into the United Nations. It would be "immoral" to fail to pay the China Lobby's debt to Syngman Rhee by holding out for the unification of Korea. And it would also be "immoral" to fail to help Japan, the chosen instrument of anti-Communism, to win the trade war for control of Southeast Asia.

The need therefore, as Western Europe sees it, is to find a sound relation between morality and reality; to learn what is really principle and what is real possibility; and to decide how much morality and principle not only the US but its allies can afford in this period of relaxation of cold war. If the US insists on a UN unsullied by Red China and a unified Korea and a Japan aided once again to Asian domination and continued trade embargo against Red China, the Western European nations will almost inevitably make *their* choices. They will not be surprised, moreover, if US big business vaults the barriers of "morality" to look for the big money where it is likely to be—regardless of its ideological color.

Paris

FRANK GORRELL

Editorial Malenkov's Hydrogen Bomb



PREMIER MALENKOV wants the world to believe that his regime possesses the hydrogen bomb. As of today, this information is almost certainly untrue. If it were true, lesser men than Malenkov would be shot as capitalist spies

for revealing such a secret.

But Malenkov has his reasons, and for the moment they are as significant as the bomb itself.

Malenkov is bidding for Stalin's power. His bid is based on a promise to succeed where Stalin failed: to ease the unbearable poverty of the Russian people. Malenkov begins by conceding Stalin's failure in his report to the Supreme Soviet. In 28 years of the great Stalin's rule, he asserts, industrial production rose 55 times while production of consumer goods rose only 12.

Today, Malenkov declares the Soviet people are "demanding" consumer goods; he adds: "We must answer this demand by action." But the regime once more is failing to act.

The Soviet people are ill-fed. There is bread to go round, but Malenkov concedes, "things are bad as regards livestock," "bad" in the output of potatoes and vegetables, "bad" in the losses of crops and the decline in the incomes which collective farmers derive from their own little holdings.

The Soviet people are ill-housed. The housing shortage is "acute" and is "felt everywhere." The cost of building "is still high," as is the cost of timber, of coal, of river transportation, and of all industrial output.

The Soviet people are ill-served in other necessities. Retail prices are high, trade is poor; schools and hospitals are lagging.

But a new time is coming under Malenkov. After 30 years of waiting the hard-pressed Russian people are promised not only sugar and housing but "cars, motorcycles, bicycles, refrigerators, television and radio sets."

Malenkov regards these innovations as vital to his regime. He cannot provide both increased living standards and increased armaments. So he seeks a few years at least of lowered tensions during which he can consolidate his power.

Malenkov begins with promises to Russia's neighbors. Iran, he declares, will be treated as a good neighbor; relations with Afghanistan will be based on mutual respect. Turkey is offered a settlement in the troublesome Black Sea area; Finland, a treaty of friendship "without restraint." There will be co-operation with Israel and

"normalization" with Yugoslavia and Greece. There will be a bounty of trade for "the glorious Italian people" and more trade to ensure the prosperity of Japan. Great hopes are held out for friendship with India and Pakistan; trade agreements have already been concluded with France, Finland, Iran, Denmark, Greece, Norway, Sweden, the Argentine, Iceland and Egypt. There is to be a helping hand for Germany and Britain and special aid for France if she will break with the European Defense Community.

All these actions, Malenkov declares, are leading hundreds of millions of people to see new hopes for peace. But one obstacle remains—the leaders of the US "are systematically aggravating international relations."

Malenkov has carefully suppressed the Hate America campaign in recent months. And yet the US is pressing the Soviet regime as it attempts its strategic retreat. We send food to Berlin where "adventurers" are causing the Kremlin trouble. We claim that the Korean settlement is a victory for our side. We maintain the trade blockade. And our President and Secretary of State assert that the Soviet regime is crumbling and doomed.

This is the background to Malenkov's hydrogen bomb. He wants a lowering of tensions—*on his terms*. He is desperately anxious that his design shall not be interpreted as weakness. So he makes the most dramatic and terrifying of all possible declarations of strength—his regime has mastered the hydrogen bomb!

It may be that Malenkov wants a peace settlement and not just an illusory atmosphere of peace in which he can build his dictatorship and prepare for war. We do not know; we can be sure only that whether or not he possesses today in the hydrogen bomb the power to destroy our cities he will possess it within three years.

Under these circumstances it is suicidal to invite atomic attack by leaving this country defenseless as it is today. For months a report calling for an immediate and tremendous civil defense program has lain on the President's desk. It has gathered dust there while behind a shield of secrecy the Administration continues complacently to drift, dreaming of tax reductions and balanced budgets. Regardless of whether Malenkov's claim is true or false as of today, it is true as of tomorrow.

In this harsh light Congress should be recalled this autumn to consider and enact a major civil defense program. It is urgently needed not simply to save life in war but as a "defensive deterrent" in Dr. Robert Oppenheimer's words, a means of prolonging peace by delaying the time when the Kremlin can be confident of destroying our productive power in sudden air strikes.

Hard Times for the Intellectuals

As thousands of professionals are driven from government careers, our intelligentsia face mass unemployment

by Daniel Bell

IN 1937, Walter Kotschnig published a book with the prosaic title of *Unemployment in the Learned Professions*. It was a survey, country by country, of the plight of those with higher learning, and it described the political tensions that flowed from their frustrations.

For the past 16 years, in the United States at least, those frustrations were abated. Job opportunities swelled hugely in government; when these contracted the universities opened wide; new opportunities were provided by the largess of the foundations. And yet, as always, the intellectuals were apprehensive. It was said of them that when they voted for Stevenson they voted their class interests. The recent budget cutting of the Eisenhower Administration proves how apt was that remark. For the first time in our history the American intelligentsia, and primarily the professionals trained in the social sciences, face mass unemployment.

Some of this unemployment is an inevitable consequence of the dismantling of wartime wage, price and mobilization agencies. More of it, however, arises from the determination of Congress to cut budgets, with the intellectual becoming the victim of much of the knife-wielding. In the State Department, for example, the entire research and intelligence branch studying Russian and Asian Communism was cut off limb and branch; many valuable services such as the bibliographies of articles on Russia, the studies of phases of Russian life, studies of Soviet culture, medicine, the reports of defectors, and other data which were available to interested students have been discontinued. These cuts have extended beyond Washington. Nearly 30 percent of the posts occupied by Americans at the US Embassy in London have been abolished, with the result, according to the *New York Times* correspondent, that "the flow of information to Washington on economic and political matters, not only from Britain but from large sections of the Middle and Far East closely tied to London, will be cut to a trickle or will dry up. . . ." The Voice of America has almost been decimated, its feature staffs and desks virtually eliminated and much of the broadcast material simply limited to reprints of articles.

Daniel Bell is a writer and Lecturer in Sociology at Columbia University.

"The hard fact," reported Doris Fleeson recently, "is that leading Republicans have no intellectuals of any bent, conservative or liberal, whom they admire or trust." Sophisticated conservatives, called in by Roosevelt or Truman, are suspect because they served Democratic Administrations. Since government planning on any broad scale is necessarily a function of intellectuals, the general animus against the intellectuals extends to any proposal of imaginative dimension, a fact which was noted and deplored by the recent report of the President's Commission on Psychological Warfare and Strategy.

So far, about 100,000 jobs (not all professional, of course) have been lopped off the Federal payroll. Another 134,000 jobs, presumably of a policy-making and confidential nature, were withdrawn from civil service last month, and the way is now open for the GOP to oust Democratic holdovers, regardless of merit.

If 50,000 should be fired, then, in an economy where two to three million unemployed is considered merely "frictional" or transient, this residue of unemployed intellectuals is statistically insignificant. But more than economics is at stake. It is the crucial sociological import of this group that has to be understood.

Who are these unemployed? They are by and large economists, political analysts, historians, sociologists, psychologists, and that assorted breed described best as "semi-skilled intellectuals," those who do the administrative chores, labor and cultural liaison, or set up the information and library programs in government agencies here and abroad. In a rough way, the situation is analogous to the twenties when the US Army rapidly reduced its staffs, and men whose sole training lay in their military skills as junior officers found themselves "cashiered." In most cases, with some travail, these men found new careers in business. But where will today's intellectuals go?

The colleges cannot absorb them. In 1947, when the first large economy slash hit Washington, many of the intelligentsia were able to return to colleges whose budgets were bolstered by heavy government endowments in the form of GI payments and research money. Today it is the graduate student GI, having found a government job, who is hit hardest. And the colleges, heavily dependent upon government, are being hit equally hard

by the force of the government economy drives.

The extent to which research as a whole is now dependent upon government is an amazing feature of the past decade. In 1940, the US government spent \$100 million for all types of scientific activities; in 1952, the US government was spending \$1.9 billion. *Of the total national expenditure of \$3.3 billion last year for research, the Federal government was footing 60 percent of the bill.* A corollary feature was the growth of government sponsored research by non-government agencies. In 1940, sponsored research was less than 10 percent of the government's research expenditure. In 1952, it was 75 percent.

Some further statistics are in order to illustrate this tremendous dependence on government. Of the money allocated to non-profit institutions, 53 percent came from the Defense Department, 36 percent from the Atomic Energy Commission, five percent from the old Federal Security Administration (largely US Public Health), four percent from Agriculture, two percent from all other departments. In 1951-1952, 225 educational institutions received \$295 million from the government in research funds.

In all these instances, the social sciences fared poorly. Seventy-two percent of research funds went into the physical sciences, 19 percent into biology and physiology; the social sciences received three percent. In fact, when the US government last year set up the National Science Foundation to sponsor research, Congress refused to set up a National Social Science Foundation.

While the colleges are inadequate to the task of absorbing the unemployed intellectuals, private foundations, despite the bonanza of Ford, cannot take up the slack. Community service or civil rights groups and Jewish defense agencies, which in the past have given employment to intellectuals, are now in budget straits. Even the trade unions are not taking back the several hundred bright young intellectuals who were seeded into overseas aid and information programs, wage boards and production authorities; for one thing government salaries are higher than those unions pay, for another, the recently displaced intellectuals are too big for their old-time jobs as educational directors of the "plastic raincoat division of the Amalgamated Garment Workers."

The one area of employment left is business. And, by and large, business doesn't want the unemployed intellectuals. (How many Russian area specialists can Wall Street firms employ?) Even those with usable skills, like the economists, find few opportunities, for corporations and trade associations are suspicious of economists or

NLRB examiners whose experience has been in government. The business community fears that this depression-bred, war-fostered intelligentsia is too liberal. It would rather pick its personnel from the newer crop of more compliant individuals now leaving the colleges.

It was this age group, desperate, and without responsibilities who led the onslaught against the European status quo. "In Germany," wrote Kotschnig, "the 40,000 or 50,000 workless university graduates in 1931-1933 became, together with the unemployed subalterns of the old imperial army, the spear-head of the national-socialist movement." These "armed Bohemians," in Konrad Heiden's phrase, these footloose and restless déclassé, formed an advance elite of reactionary and militaristic

movements in western and central Europe. But the new unemployed intelligentsia of the US will not become *lumpen* intellectuals. Nor will they, despite the suspicions of business, go Communist. American liberalism,

for all the protestations of Whittaker Chambers, has taught the educated American about the dangers of Stalinism; or, perhaps, to round out the credit, the Communists themselves have given the intellectual a hard lesson in organizational manipulation. And, if the American intellectual is not fiercely anti-Communist, and sometimes not sufficiently tough-mindedly for fear of "playing into the hands of McCarthy," he is certainly non-Communist and deaf to the blandishments of any of the Communist groups.

What will happen to these intellectuals if they are not summoned back to government service? Probably most will be absorbed in family businesses which they had rejected in the development of more advanced abilities.

There will be then an erosion and loss of a valuable group of social skills and talents.

By and large it has not traditionally been the responsibility of democratic governments to look after their intelligentsia, and the problem for the US is a new one. In the theory of the open society men pick their occupations in accordance with the needs of the market. Unfortunately, however, the Eisenhower Administration, wedded as it is to the principle of the free market, does not understand that the demand for intellectuals varies widely and swiftly while their numbers slowly change. In the twenties there was intellectual unemployment, but largely of the *literary* intelligentsia. It was fed and sustained by the WPA in the thirties. In the forties it was absorbed in the expanding cultural markets of publishing, radio, Hollywood and government. *The new class, however, is a more narrowly defined technical intelligentsia, brought into being in response to the de-*

"For the first time in our history, the American intelligentsia, and primarily the professionals trained in the social sciences, face mass unemployment."

"The hard fact," reported Doris Fleson recently, "is that leading Republicans have no intellectuals of any bent, conservative or liberal, whom they admire or trust."

mands of government. Most of the individuals who have lost and are losing their jobs are in the 28-38 age category with two children and a down payment on a house. They have spent five to 10 years in detailed *specializations* on such problems as the movement of transients in different labor markets, the structure of the Viet Nam Communist movement, and the setting up of consumer price indices. Even if ideological considerations alone did not compound the problem, transfer to other occupations is not simply a matter of pulling up stakes and moving on.

A deeper sociological problem is also at stake. The intellectuals, as Karl Mannheim and Joseph Schumpeter understood so well, form the cultural elite of the country; their attitudes and influence extend far beyond their own class. The intellectual, thought Schumpeter, is inevitably hostile to a capitalist society because his expectations can never be wholly fulfilled regarding his worth. In the past 15 years the intellectuals, however, had made their peace with America. There was their disillusion-

ment about Russia, the tangible evidence of the marvelous growth capacity of the economy, the feeling that even in an economy dominated by large corporations the innovating role of technology and the "countervailing roles" of rival sectors made flexibility and balance achievable; in turn the expanding economy provided new opportunities for social mobility and cultural employments.

Now, on a political level, this image is proving wrong. But it is more than a political exclusion of the intellectual from the social order that bodes ill. "The most essentially negative effect of this [intellectual] unemployment," wrote Karl Mannheim about the thirties, "consists in the destruction of what one might call 'planning for life'." The sudden disruption of stable expectations, the destruction of a sense of career "increases to an extraordinary degree the suggestibility of the individual and strengthens his belief in the miraculous cure-alls." Large-scale intellectual unemployment becomes, in effect, one of the chief factors disrupting the "rationalization of man."

Beyond these immediate considerations looms a far more portentous shadow, the "proletariat with the A.B. degree." This lengthening shadow is neither Republican nor Democratic in origin. Flushed with the wartime success of 60 million jobs, we forget that the high aspirations of the American society and the status pressures of college education may result in an over-production of technical intellectuals. In 1948 Harvard President Conant warned that "my chief concern comes . . . from a

fear that we may educate more doctors, lawyers, engineers, scientists and college professors than our economy can support." And Seymour Harris, in his 1949 study, *The Market for College Graduates*, estimated that by 1969 there will be two or three college graduates for every job commensurate with their training. By 1970, if expectations are fulfilled, there will be 15 million college graduates, a large proportion of whom, having taken specialized training, will be seeking professional status. The pressure is increased because in our "skill society" education is the primary ladder of social mobility.

In a free society no government can take ultimate responsibility for the employment of a large class of intelligentsia; and if it did other deleterious consequences would follow. Yet it can seek to mitigate the effects of erratic swings in demand. The old German imperial army, faced with the problem of what to do with men they had persuaded to enlist for 14 years in order to have a tough, professional army, and then were too old to soldier and too young to retire, found a solution by reserving them posts in the police and postal services (thus also assuring the regime of loyal bureaucratic cadres). In a vague way we do the same for those who have spent years in service by providing for veterans' preference. But the problem is too important to consider only in terms of those who have given service time. A little reflection on the part of the Eisenhower Administration would show that the \$250 million saved in salaries by firing 50,000 intellectuals does not make up for the public loss of gifted and important skills and the blasting of many valuable careers.

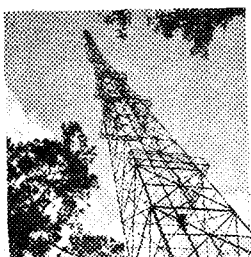
In Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa, a "hidden revolution" is taking place. In the classic but un-Marxist pattern, it is being made not by the down-and-out but by the intelligentsia. In once colonial areas like Burma or Indonesia, the

withdrawal of the English and Dutch bureaucracies made it almost a revolution by default. In other areas, like the Middle East, the struggle will be more acute. For revolutions occur when an ascending class finds its ambition frustrated. The problem is more acute in the non-capitalist world; the process is also at work in the West.

One lesson, surely, that the Eisenhower Administration needs to learn is to gauge the consequences of social policy not in terms of the traditional and narrow criteria of economy and efficiency, but by the criteria of a social balance. A free society is not a formless or anarchic one. Certain planning is necessary to insure freedoms, certain guidance needed to provide a set of stable expectations not only for the dollar but for the American family.

"Most of the individuals who have lost and are losing their jobs are in the 28-38 age category with two children and a down payment on a house."

"A little reflection on the part of the Eisenhower Administration would show that the \$250 million saved in salaries by firing 50,000 intellectuals does not make up for the public loss of gifted and important skills and the blasting of many careers."



UNIVERSITY TV: "A Public Nuisance"

How one group of commercial broadcasters tried to elbow educators out of the TV spectrum

by Richard S. Lewis

THE FIRST attempt in the nation to suppress educational television by law took place in the Illinois legislature this spring and summer. It failed in the final days of the session, but not before it came into focus as a test pattern in the mounting effort by Middle-western commercial broadcasters to elbow the educators out of the spectrum—especially in the more lucrative very-high-frequency range.

Two aggressive special interests tried to black out educational TV in all of Illinois outside the Chicago area. They were the Illinois Broadcasters Association, a state association of commercial broadcasters, and the Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, an industrial and private utilities lobby. They managed the introduction of a bill in the state house of representatives to prohibit the operation of a television transmitter by a tax-supported institution. The bill defined such telecasting as "a public nuisance" and provided for its abatement by court injunction, a procedure more commonly employed to rid the community of a smoking dump or a noisy saloon.

Principal target of the bill was the University of Illinois. It was preparing to ask the Federal Communications Commission for a permit to operate a TV transmitter on Channel 12 at Urbana-Champaign. Secondary targets were Southern Illinois University, a tax-supported school, and the teachers' colleges which have indicated that they, too, would like to telecast.

The broadcasters visualized a state educational network competing with them for channels and audience in the rural, downstate markets which already are forested with tall, TV masts to pick up St. Louis. They hastened to the state capital at Springfield to keep education out of the spectrum by a legislative proposal which appears to be unique in the history of communications.

After three years of planning, the University of Illinois was equipped to operate the first VHF transmitter in Central Illinois. It had purchased camera chains, built studios, received a \$90,000 transmitter and a tower as gifts and had a pledge of financial aid from the Ford Foundation's fund for adult education. This was one of two major educational TV services being developed in Illinois. The Chicago Educational Television Association, a non-profit corporation financed by gifts and public subscription, was planning another for the Chicago area.

Richard S. Lewis is a member of the staff of the Chicago Sun Times.

The bill exempted the Chicago plan because of its private financing. It was aimed, instead, at the state university which was ready to plant a transmitter dead center in one of the richest, virgin TV markets between Chicago and St. Louis.

Promoters of the blackout bill lobbied on the theme that telecasting by the university amounted to state competition with private enterprise. They relied on the GOP-controlled legislature and the state's new Republican administration to back them up. The broadcasters charged that university television would create "a propaganda mill for bureaucratic officeholders" into which they pictured subversives infiltrating to "hasten the creation of the totalitarian state."

The university has operated an AM and FM radio station for years. In addition to providing laboratories for courses in journalism and communications, U. of I. radio is an oasis of good music and information in an etheric desert of screaming commercials, murder, mayhem and mountain music. In 1951, the university petitioned the FCC to allocate a very high frequency channel to the Champaign area for educational telecasting to an audience of 750,000. It approached television as a logical extension of its technical training facilities in communication and its adult education program.

Commercial broadcasters opposed the university's request. One of them was the Peoria Broadcasting Co. (now WMBD, Inc.) which wanted the channel assigned to Peoria. Its president, Charles C. Caley, is former president of the Illinois Broadcasters Association and a member of the association's television committee which promoted the bill. The FCC rejected the commercial counter-proposals and assigned the channel (12) to Champaign on an educational reservation last year. The channel was reserved for education until June 2, 1953. If no application was made for it by then, commercial broadcasters could petition the FCC to set aside the reservation and re-allocate the channel for commercial use.

The broadcasters sent a delegation to the university's board of trustees demanding that the university drop its plans to apply for the channel. The delegation suggested that the university confine its television enterprise to the production of films which could be shown on private stations. One of the delegation's members was Caley. The other was Merrill Lindsay of Decatur who holds an interest in a company which was building a commer-

cial television station in Champaign, a few miles from the site of the transmitter the university planned to erect.

After two meetings with the board, the association reported that University President George D. Stoddard "refused to concede any merit whatsoever" in its proposals. It added: "Even some members of the trustees seemed to have this feeling—undoubtedly having been thoroughly sold by Stoddard on the grandiose and utopian phases of what the educators could accomplish in the state and nation in planned and controlled adult education—completing the cycle of 'cradle to the grave' teaching philosophy."

Throughout the campaign for the blackout bill ran the notion that education had somehow become subversive when applied to television. The promoters capitalized on the fact that Stoddard was undergoing heavy fire in the legislature for his stand in several administrative controversies, his refusal to make patronage appointments and his efforts to ward off faculty witch hunts. Political antagonism toward Stoddard ultimately resulted in his ouster in July, in which his stand in defense of university television was a factor.

The Taxpayers' Federation explained that it opposed tax funds for television as part of its role of watchdogging the public purse. By the Federation's published reckoning the amount to be saved by outlawing university television was \$30,000 to \$40,000 a year out of the university's biennial budget request of \$89,950,000. To achieve this saving, the executive secretary of the Federation, George E. Mahlin, performed an extraordinary feat of lobbying. He recruited the Republican majority leader of the house and another powerful Republican, Rep. Reed F. Cutler, as principal sponsors of the bill. He also cleared it, he said, with Gov. Stratton.

THE BLACKOUT BILL was railroaded through the house executive committee, which Cutler headed, by one of the oldest tricks in legislative history. When the bill was posted for public hearing, Cutler kept the representatives of civic and education groups who appeared to testify against it cooling their heels while the committee conducted its interminable routine.

Then Cutler elected to hear the long-winded statement of a California promoter, Willis E. Stone, who was traveling about the country collecting legislative endorsements for a 23rd amendment to the Federal Constitution. The amendment which Stone had in mind would prohibit the Federal government from engaging in any business activity in competition with private enterprise. Stone explained it would prevent the government from operating such "socialistic" agencies as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Federal Power Commission and keep others, like the Defense Department, from interfering with business. The committee's GOP majority voted to recommend adoption by the house of a resolution commending Stone's amendment to Congress.

On this note Cutler adjourned the hearing and told the television bill witnesses to come back some other

time. He did not say when. The bill was then called up at the committee's next meeting without notice.

The only witness against it who happened to be there was University Broadcasting Director Hudson, who had come on another matter. He was fighting another of the broadcasters' pomotions—a bill to require the University to sell television rights to its football games to the highest commercial bidder.

Such a bill, the University protested, would not only cut its gate receipts which finance athletics but force it to violate its agreements with the National Collegiate Athletic Association. When it became apparent that this would wreck its football schedule—and no politician who became a party to that could hope to survive another election—the bill was dropped like a hot stove lid.

By that time most of the committee had departed on urgent business elsewhere and left their votes with Cutler. The absentee votes assured committee approval. The bill passed the house after word circulated that the administration wanted it. Confronted by the FCC's June 2 deadline for picking up educational channel reservations, the university filed for a construction permit at the end of May. As it prepared to fight the blackout in the senate, the behind-the-scenes battle for VHF channels in Central Illinois came to the fore with a well-publicized political invasion of the field.

Former US Sen. C. Wayland (Curley) Brooks, a partner with his wife, Mary, in Brookwell Enterprises, Inc., jumped into a two-way fight for Peoria's lone VHF channel. About the same time, a group of Chicago and Springfield Republicans, banded together as the Capital City Television Corp., filed for the single VHF channel allocated to Springfield. This channel had been sought for two years by a commercial group, whose officers believed they were on the verge of getting a permit when Capital City appeared at the last minute.

Members of the legislature needed no more convincing demonstration than the sudden arrival of the political prospectors that there was gold up there in the spectrum. It became apparent that the university's channel 12 was a potentially valuable property, and the blackout bill took on a new significance. The bill's promoters stepped up their efforts to push it through the senate. Strumming on the theme that educational television was a misuse of tax funds, the Taxpayers' Federation warned the senate "to lock the barn before the horse was stolen."

By this time, however, the bill's practical effect of freeing Channel 12 for ultimate commercial use was plainly visible through the screen of civic righteousness which characterized its promotion. Some of the senators became wary about "locking the barn" and wondered who was trying to steal which horse. Word was passed that the governor no longer was concerned with the bill. It died at the end of June after its senate sponsors failed to muster enough votes to pass it.

For the moment, that would appear to end the matter. Educators are not sure their victory was decisive. In one sense, the blackout failed; in another, it nearly succeeded.

Dr. Adenauer—A Failing Ally?

Our exclusive commitment to the Chancellor traps the U.S. as nationalism reemerges in Germany.

by **Otto W. Butz**



FOR BETTER or for worse, American policy in Germany today is committed to the support of the person and government of Dr. Konrad Adenauer. He is the man who led the Germans into a democratic state, the staunch defender of the West, the leading spokesman of an integrated Europe, Germany's grand old man. Without him, American policies in the *Bundesrepublik* would make little sense.

Current statements both by the President and the Secretary of State indicate that the policy of identifying American power and prestige with the present German Chancellor is to be continued. So do the information releases accompanying the food shipments to the German Soviet Zone. Dr. Adenauer and his Christian Democrats apparently must be re-elected. And, given this interpretation, the sample polls are encouraging. With less than a month to go before the elections Dr. Adenauer's party is ahead with a predicted 38 percent of the popular vote, against the Social Democrats' 31. Everything seems to be under control. But is it?

According to this observer's view, based upon a just-concluded, nine-month stay in Western Germany and Berlin, the present American policy of support of Dr. Adenauer and his government is a mistake. It is based upon an inaccurate image of what is going on in Germany and it banks on short-run expediency rather than coming to terms with long-range realities. As a result, American influence in Germany may be seriously undermined and the development of democracy in Germany set back. As a Berlin taxi driver said to me, pointing first in the direction of Potsdamer Platz and then towards the West:

There we have the Communists' puppets Pieck and Grotewohl, and over yonder we have the Americans' democratic puppet Adenauer. Let them have their little fling. The German people haven't been heard from yet. But they will be

The key to the strength of the present German government has been its claim that it has made Germany acceptable to the United States and thereby has been enabled to give the country a measure of security and prosperity which would otherwise have been impossible. As long

as the Germans were starving, jittery at the thought of being over-run by the Russians and rejected as the pariahs of the Western World, the weight of this claim could not be challenged. Today, however, the feeling of dependence on the US among Germans is fast disappearing. And as it does, the importance, in the eyes of the German voter, of the acceptability of his political leaders to American public opinion becomes steadily less. The question which increasing numbers of Germans are asking of their politicians is shifting to another criterion: how genuinely and with what prospects of success are they working for German reunification?

By this new test of political desirability Dr. Adenauer and his Christian Democratic Union stand little chance of maintaining the support to form a future government and make it work. The Chancellor's lifelong ideal of a separate, Rhenish, Catholic, West German State are well known in Germany. It would be difficult if not impossible today to find a West German who believes in the sincerity of Dr. Adenauer's dedication to the goal of German reunification. It is very probable that Dr. Adenauer and his party will receive the percentage of votes which the polls predict. It is even more probable, however, that once the elections are won, the Chancellor's coalition will quickly fall apart on the problems of German foreign policy. The fate that overtook De Gasperi may also strike down his German counterpart.

What preparations has American statesmanship made for such an eventuality? The answer, unfortunately, seems to be: none.

By giving moral and political endorsement to the Adenauer regime, American policy has seriously alienated the German opposition. It has been and still is difficult in Germany to undertake any criticism of Dr. Adenauer and his policies on questions of world politics, no matter how objective. Most seriously inhibited have been the Social Democrats, along with a number of smaller democratic groups and splinters. This opposition is neither destructively nationalistic, nor Communist nor Fascistic. Its objective is a genuinely democratic Germany, freely allied with the West and in possession of the right independently to choose the aims and means of its policy and work for a peaceful, long-term restoration of the frontiers of 1937.

The leaders of the German democratic opposition are, on the whole, rational and moderate men. The longer

Otto Butz has just returned from nine months of study and travel in Western Germany and Berlin as a Fellow of the Social Science Research Council.

the American endorsement of the Adenauer Government continues, however, the more embittered the German opposition will become and the greater will be the danger that the rank and file will be attracted to leaders who represent a Rightist and non-democratic standpoint.

Given the Germans' long training in obedience, the American policy of establishing the Adenauer Government as the sole representative of the new democratic orthodoxy has, intellectually, created a highly paradoxical situation. The first principle of political life in Germany today is dutiful outward conformism with the government of Dr. Adenauer and profound inner resignation, either in the form of apathy or of suppressed resentment. The basic element of true democracy, the ambition and courage to raise, think through and discuss the prime issues of public affairs, once more is missing.

German intellectual life, as in times past, is characterized by an obliging deference to the established order and a polite and at times nervous avoidance of vital national problems. In the German press and radio, for example, one looks in vain for a frank discussion of world politics. There are eulogies of democracy, of the United States and of the European Defense Community, but there is little analysis of the concrete questions which will have to be faced. A discussion of such questions would involve the formulation of goals and the examination of means which might be misrepresented; Germans prefer not to take a chance. In private discussions one finds attitudes that vary between opportunistic nihilism, temperate views of German national interest and Right-wing nationalism. But when one inquires of these people why they do not present their views for public discussion, one receives the same answer: "It's politically unwise."

NO LESS SIGNIFICANT is the condition of German universities. Despite all the honest effort that American official and private agencies put into the introduction of political science in German universities, strict outward conformity with the political status quo and its slogans and avoidance of controversy prevail. The titles of the courses and seminars resemble those in the United States. What is actually permitted to come up for discussion are legal niceties, historical descriptions and moralizations, and philosophical speculation.

At one of Germany's oldest universities, for example, I regularly attended a seminar scheduled as a discussion of contemporary political issues. Three consecutive seminars were to be devoted to the problems of the European Defense Community. I had high hopes. What the discussion in fact boiled down to, however, was a tedious elaboration of the question whether the present German government was constitutionally competent to sign and ratify the treaties which would commit Western Germany to EDC or not. One student after another arose to cite legal paragraphs, while the professor was engrossed in pointing up the subtleties of the law. During the third seminar, at my prompting, a student got up and politely

inquired whether it would not be possible to drop the legal discussions. He suggested, instead, that the class consider the ultimate objectives of Dr. Adenauer and the various groups in his coalition. There was an awkward pause. The professor took a long, deliberate drag on his five-cent cigar. "Don't you see, Herr Schmidt," he answered, "that such questions would only lead us into political matters? No, I'm afraid we don't have time for that." Yet this same professor was, in fact, a man of political integrity, a democrat and a very shrewd student of German and world affairs. Why had he refused to go into "political matters" in his seminar? "You see," he told me privately over a glass of beer, "this is not the United States; this is Germany. To go into such problems would mean to question premises and slogans which, at least for the time being, are taboo. I can't afford to risk it."

It is thus small wonder that political discussion in a truly democratic sense is all but non-existent in Germany. The *Rektor*, or dean, of one German university not too long ago went so far as to propose that all dissertation subjects be confined to the period before 1850! All over Western Germany books dealing with national German political problems are appearing under pseudonyms. The authors do not feel that they can afford to risk their careers. So, in response to what is felt to be the need for strict conformity with American sanctioned attitudes, the free discussion of public affairs has been seriously stifled. However well-attended the lectures in the United States Information Service's *Amerikahaeuser* in German cities may be, and however loyally German intellectuals visiting this country as guests of the State Department may reaffirm their solidarity with us, their outward convictions, in reality, are highly unstable and temporary.

The Germans will not long endure the condition of ideological satellites. Terror is no answer as the Soviet police rulers are learning, nor in the long run is economic aid coupled with a moralistic insistence on conformity to the American image. Given the Germans' strong sense of national consciousness and their strategic rich location between East and West, there will sooner or later arise among them a broadly-based movement for the Right independently to formulate and carry out their own national policy. Such a movement is, in fact, already well under way. Would it not be the part of political wisdom then to stop discriminating against those genuinely democratic forces which are seeking to represent such a movement and give it moderate leadership, instead of clinging as we do to the illusion of the exclusive morality and political reliability of those who outwardly conform with democratic forms and phrases? The longer the commitment to Dr. Adenauer and his government is continued, the more difficult it will become for American policy to tackle the problem of a permanent German settlement, the more uncertain will be US relations with a future all-German government and the more tortuous will be the path of German democracy.

ITALY: Ends Against the Middle

Nationalism, poverty and an old fear brought down De Gasperi: was he counted out?

by Frank Gervasi

THE TRUE DIMENSIONS of the defeat sustained by Italian democracy in the June balloting are now fairly clear. Even a cursory glance at the tabulation of the results discloses that considerably more Italians believed in free, democratic government than in Left or Right totalitarianism. It is much too soon, therefore, to unleash the dogs of despair. There are no tenable reasons for assuming that the Iron Curtain is about to crash down on Italy or that the Fascists and their Monarchist front-runners will immediately capture the country.

Plainly it was wrong to assume that a stable lira, and rising industrial, agricultural and business indexes meant whole-hearted Italian approval of De Gasperi, his Center government and its policies and methods. Zig-zag lines on fancy graphs unfortunately did not measure the Milanese factory workers' need for higher wages and lower prices, the pleas of the unemployed two million, the despair of the homeless or the hunger of the landless. Much, though not all, of the Left's gains resulted from astute Communist exploitation of legitimate complaints. Nor did the upward sweep of the indexes record the endemic nationalism, the Fascist nostalgia, the disorientation and disillusionment of the nation's youth. These factors accounted for much, though again not all, of the headway made by the Monarcho-Fascist Right.

The Leftward drift evident in the June balloting proved the workers' and peasants' dissatisfaction with the pace of realization of long-promised reforms which were to have meant more jobs, more wages, lower prices and more equitable distribution of the tax burden. The emergence of a strong Monarcho-Fascist Right proved the rebirth of nationalism, the desire for first-class membership in world affairs and resistance to social change, higher taxes and land reform. The election was undoubtedly a far more accurate reflection of the state of Italian public opinion than were the strictly "we or they" elections of 1948.

Observers tend to exaggerate, however, both the Left gains and the Right upsurge. The Left gained enough to prove that the danger to Italian democracy from the ends is still the pre-eminent danger. The Right made enough headway to demonstrate conclusively the need for democratic re-education of the youth, for many of the Right's new votes, despite Left claims, came

from the nation's young people, those who as children were inoculated with Fascism and as adults have no faith to live by.

To understand the Center's June failure, one must know what the Center is. The fat keystone of that segment of the Italian political arch known as the democratic center is the Christian Democratic Party. It is flanked on the left by the Republicans and the Left-wing Socialists or Social Democrats and on the right by the Liberals. Ostensibly the election role of the Republicans and Social Democrats was to draw strength from the Togliatti Communist-Nenni Socialist Left. It was up to the Liberals to fend off inroads from the Monarcho-Fascist Right. The Christian Democrats' job was to take the brunt of the mass attack from the extreme Left and Right.

Had the issue been in June what it was in 1948—East or West—the Center would have won, overwhelmingly. But a well-timed Kremlin peace offensive, among other things, shifted the battle from a foreign policy area to a domestic front. And on domestic issues the coalition had stopped on dead center.

This was probably inevitable, as the Christian Democratic Party is itself composed of a conservative Center, a liberal Left and an ultra-conservative Right. De Gasperi's personal inclinations to accelerate reforms were braked by the Right-wing of his own party. His efforts to appease and hold onto the Rightists brought violent intra-mural reactions from his own Left as well as the Republicans and Social Democrats. De Gasperi's problems of leadership were not unlike those of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's in handling the divergent elements of the Democratic Party. It is a tribute to the 72-year-old De Gasperi that he was able to give the nation five years of, on the whole, progressive leadership under the circumstances.

Had it not been for the notorious Election Law, however, the Center might well have swept the elections. The law, passed after prolonged and often physically violent debates, assigned a bonus of 15 percent to the party winning 50 percent plus one of the total votes cast. It was born in the agile brain of Mario Scelba, Christian Democrat Minister of the Interior, creator of the jeep-borne shock police squad known as *La Celere* and the Communists' choice for oblivion.

Election-eve passage of the law caused serious defec-

Frank Gervasi, well-known US correspondent, was formerly Information Chief of ECA in Italy.

tions among Social Democrats, Republicans, Liberals and even Christian Democrats. The "legge truffa" or "gyp law," as it came to be called, became fully as lively an issue as Supreme Court packing, the third term, or States' rights ever were in our elections. The solid Center suddenly became veined with cracks. The cracks widened as the campaign progressed. The Italian electorate's antagonism toward the Center and specifically the Christian Democrats mounted as polling time approached. As the results show, the Christian Democrats polled nearly two million less votes in 1953 than they did in 1948. The other Center parties suffered too—from "guilt by association."

Italian voters read in the law a desire on the part of the Christian Democrats to perpetuate themselves in power. Victory in June would have given the Christian Democrats another five years in power, time enough, the voters reasoned, to transmute a mere government into a regime. If Italians are sick of anything, they're sick of regimes.

But why not a Christian Democratic regime if Italy had, on the whole, done rather well under a preponderantly Christian Democratic government? Because of a factor, often by ignorance or design, ignored in the Italian political scene: anti-clericalism. Just as the zig-zags on the graphs failed to measure social unrest or nationalist yearnings they failed to measure a rising resentment of what Italians fear most, the re-shaping of their Republic in the image of the Church State that endured until 1870.

Rightly or wrongly a Christian Democratic government is, in the minds of Italians, a clerical government. The origins of the bitter lay antagonism against the clergy are long forgotten and invalid. But the antagonism, a purely emotional antagonism for the most part, remains. Even the churchiest of Italian peasants is apt to remind his priest to stay in the confessional and keep off the political platform. The temporal power of the Popes was broken 83 years ago and successfully contained as much by the Monarchy, by the way, as by lay governments. But to too many Italians the Italy of 1953 had begun to look ominously like the Italy of 1870. The Christian Democrats had introduced certain censorship in film-making and the press which the intellectuals found offensive. Efforts to regulate bathing beach apparel and restrict the nudity of statues were not popular. The presence in government of too many men identified with the Church irked the voters.

Certainly De Gasperi's eighth government, formed soon after the new elections, fell because it was composed exclusively of Christian Democrats, at least half a dozen of whom had what the Social Democrats and Republicans regarded as "clerical links." Certainly too, the Church was even more heavily engaged in the electoral campaign of 1953 than it was in 1948. But whereas Italians wholeheartedly welcomed the clergy as allies in '48, there was

palpable resentment in '53. This might not have been so, had it not been for the "legge truffa." The law became a physical fact which confirmed a vague, inchoate fear.

On the whole, therefore, the June outcome was a protest—a protest against the slowness of realization of basic reforms essential to the national well-being and against a real or imagined effort by the Christian Democrats to perpetuate themselves in power and turn the clock back to 1870.

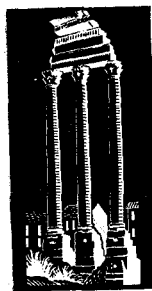
It is difficult to see, in all this, cause to cry havoc. Actually, Italy shows signs of political growth and maturity. In the long run, the current crisis will best serve the interests of democracy and not of either Left or Right totalitarianism. Had a Christian Democrat regime eventuated, there might indeed have been a violent Communist reaction which would have done democracy no good. Nor would democracy's interests be served by an eventual Christian Democrat alliance with the Right.

There is reason to believe that Alcide De Gasperi, as shrewd a politician as he is an indifferent economist and less than average administrator, will maneuver the elements of the present crisis to democracy's ultimate gain. As the heir of Luigi Don Sturzo's politics, he conceives Christian Democracy as Christian Socialism, as a Center oriented toward the Left, which is to say alic and responsive to the fundamental needs of the people. He, better than anyone, knows the forces which brought his party to dead center. He better than anyone knows how to restart the political machinery in the direction of progress and prosperity.

At the moment the only solution to the crisis appears to be new elections. When these will come is anyone's guess, but certainly not before the West Germans have voted in September. A government of sorts will probably be formed by De Gasperi or Deputy Leader Piccione or former Finance Minister Pella to carry on normal administrative functions until the elections.

It is plain that the young Republic, conceived in disaster and born in chaos, is in trouble, perhaps even serious trouble. It behooves the West and particularly America to seek and understand the causes of the Italian crisis. Only thus will it be possible to devise and apply those corrective policies which will strengthen democracy in this key Mediterranean nation and facilitate its participation with the other nations of the West in a continued alliance.

The really important question is why did the democratic Center fail to obtain a clear majority? Ironically, the Christian Democrats and their Center allies would easily have won in June if Christian Democrat Scelba had not permitted a preponderance of Communists on the committees which audited and validated the ballots. One million three hundred thousand votes were invalidated. Most were Christian Democrat votes!



LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

PROGRESS IN MUSIC

by Robert Evett

IN *The New Year Letter*, Mr. Auden reminds us that every aesthetic discipline carries with it a sin, peculiar to it, to which its exponents are especially prone. The composer whose predilections are conservative is constantly in danger of losing himself in the past; of losing himself so completely that his own development never occurs. One of the delights of a pre-perfected style is that it poses no real problems to the composer; if he follows the simple instructions on the label, he is bound to confection something fairly palatable.

If eclectic composers, like Hindemith and Bartok, may be considered progressive in that they have adopted the techniques of the past but developed personal styles from those techniques, what is the position of a man like Stravinsky? During the past thirty years, Stravinsky has worked in several distinct styles, most of them clearly appropriated from the eighteenth century. But Stravinsky never sounds like an eighteenth century composer. In a work like *The Rakes Progress*, Stravinsky approaches the style of Mozart so closely that at times one chord progression, or even one note could produce a completely antique effect. Yet the dryness of the scoring, the slight alterations of harmonic and rhythmic usages produce a sound which is peculiarly, recognizably Stravinskian and of our century.

Aaron Copland's music poses the same problem. Three works, written within a few years of each other—*El Salon Mexico*, the *Piano Sonata*, and *Appalachian Spring*—are totally different in materials and effect, but they are all obviously the work of the same composer. Again, there is a harmonic and rhythmic consistency which Copland brings to his material by which he is able to transform that material into his own. Stylistically, Copland and Stravinsky seem to be skating on the thinnest possible ice. They have helped to give the word "eclecticism" a pejorative

meaning, which is perhaps unfair. To be more conservative is surely to succumb to that sin peculiar to eclecticism, but to have drawn style *from* style, as they have is to have established personality and to have progressed in the personal sense.

Anonymity is an abyss into which it is very easy to fall, and one of the easiest ways to do this is to imitate currently fashionable styles. For the past twenty years, there has been a large, miraculously growing body of American composers, conservatory trained, passionately conservative, and motivated solely by the desire to conform to existing fashion. These are the composers who are not embarrassed to write like Stravinsky one year, Hindemith the next, Bartok the next, and Schoenberg the next. In most instances, their work is technically very good, but badly timed and otherwise undistinguished. A composer who has no convictions of his own serves only one function, which is to get in the way. Our best young composers, men like Robert Palmer, David Diamond and William Schuman, have suffered professionally from their refusal to join the noisy crowd on the bandwagon, and even better established men, notably Roy Harris and Walter Piston, have been hurt for the same reason. If there is any single phenomenon impeding a general progress in music, it is the effect of fashion on musical style.

Compared with the fashionable imitators, those few real innovators working at present deserve our respect. But there is a sin peculiar to *their* discipline, too: the assertion of individuality at the expense of standards.

For many years, most of the important experimental work in America has been carried on in New York by the composers associated with John Cage. This work, at its outset, was distinguished by a revaluation of Occidental standards. Cage hoped to introduce certain Oriental values into our concep-

tion of music. This involved experimentation with percussion, rhythm, and form.

In effect, this experimentation has produced two different sets of results. Lou Harrison and Alan Hovhaness have adjusted the rich, percussive sonorities to the traditions of the West. Cage himself and Morton Feldman have almost finally divorced themselves from Western traditions. Cage has written music in which radios are the performing instruments, so that the composer has no control over the sounds produced. Feldman has composed pieces on graph paper, in which no notes are written, so that the performer makes up the music as he goes along.

The fact that his music has, conceptually, some relation to the improvisatory practices of India, does not, in itself, constitute an improvement in Western music. One suspects that, because it is less controlled, it is inferior to the Indian original. The fact that Western music can be written down accurately has made its evolution a special thing, and if the element of control is removed, everything peculiarly Western about the music is destroyed, even if familiar instruments are used. And Western standards cannot be imposed on a music which disregards its basis. While it would be unfair to suspect Feldman's sincerity, one can only assume that what standards he has are of his own making, and that no matter how elaborate his rationale is, he has arrived at a musical anarchy. A composer to whom originality and innovation supercede purely musical values must be guilty of husbanding his own talent badly.

The total accomplishment of musical innovation in the twentieth century has been depressingly small. The Italian Futurism of forty years ago has disappeared, almost without a trace. Atonality, as it was thought of forty years ago, has proven to be little more than a tortured extension of Romanticism. Its best apologists not only employ the forms of the past, they constantly compare their music with that of the past, assuring the listener that,

once the difficulties of idiom are surmounted, the music will have much the same effect as that of Beethoven or Brahms, as if that in itself is desirable. One might point out that, if the effect is to be the same, the evolution of an elaborate new technique is scarcely necessary. And, if the aesthetic standard is to remain the same, there is no reason to assume that technical change constitutes general progress.

Inversely, real technical innovations, such as the splitting up of the gamut into quarter-tones or the evolution of a music without notes, innovations which strike at the root of the Western aesthetic, are not progressive if one assumes that Western music as such is capable of further development. Real and important as these innovations are to their creators, their general application is terribly limited by the contexts in which they must occur.

If great changes of technique or style are generally so ineffectual against the broad, traditional aesthetic standards of music, one may well wonder why anyone bothers to tamper with common practice or to alter existing methods in any way.

The most valid reason is surely that of purely private need, the need of becoming oneself musically. As he develops, any lively composer will, sooner or later, come face to face with a blank wall, a dead end into which his technique and his preconceptions have led him. Until he has reached this point in his career, no matter how brilliantly or rapidly he has advanced, he cannot have attained that individuality which distinguishes him from everybody else. He must either find his way out of this situation or relax into oblivion and anonymity.

It is at this point that he must develop what Hindemith calls "the crown and glory of technique," which is style, and no matter whose shoulders he is standing on, what influences have gone into his style, what new technical resources it may require for its realization, or what thinking has conditioned his choice, the result will be a new sound, called modern not because its component parts are original in themselves, but because they have been regulated to fit the needs of a single, special individual. Having arrived at this happy condition of being himself, he will show what the theologian calls "the outward signs of an inward grace," not because

he has been given this grace, but because he has had the courage to fight for it, to conjure it out of his own mind, spirit, experience and imagination.

Frequently, a generous composer with missionary instincts and abundant good will, will attempt to lead other composers, especially young or unformed ones, through the whole process of development, including the last stage. The unfortunate thing about this is that lively people are difficult to lead. Like horses, they must be broken before they can be made to submit to the will of the master, and once this is realized, there is no further hope for them. I suspect that people of real talent have been destroyed by overzealous teaching, but the small number which survives the process of indoctrination is heartening.

A gifted composer must, ultimately, find himself through his own resolution. This is why musical progress, in the general sense, has only a superficial meaning and might better be called a change in common practice, based on the idioms and techniques of some powerful figure and enjoyed by a coterie of composers who have not yet been able to assert their individual wills on what they know. Real progress is a private affair, concerning only the individual composer and his art.

[This is the second section of a two-part essay.—The Editors]

The Infernal Marquis

"NO, NO, JULIETTE" (we may as well begin with this quotation from the voluminous works of the Marquis de Sade, notwithstanding the fact—or just because of it—that we are thus reminded of a well-known English musical comedy of the twenties, since the unintentional effect of those works is that of a huge, gruesome farce, or parody)—"No, no, Juliette, can we hide from ourselves the fact that Nature gives us our needs

MARQUIS DE SADE, edited by Paul Dinnage, with an essay by Simone de Beauvoir (Grove; \$5).

and our passions?" A monster or a martyr, or both, Donatien-Alphonse-François de Sade was certainly not the first to be endowed with an exceptional outlook on erotic matters, but the *siècle des lumières* supplied him with the torch of

reason and the belief in the soundness of Nature's laws, and the newly undertaken exploration of the customs of primitive peoples who lived according to Nature, made clear to him that his "apartness" from the feelings of his contemporaries (an emotional apartness which Simone de Beauvoir has subtly analysed in the essay *Must We Burn Sade?*) was, in fact, not a shortcoming but a privilege: he was aware of the voice of Nature as nobody else was round him; hence he was the bearer of a message, the most daring philosopher of all. "Let us vouchsafe for a moment to illumine our minds with the holy light of philosophy!" His sense of apartness, his inferiority complex found good ground for an overcompensation; when the Revolution came, he felt entitled to speak as the Moses, the lawgiver of the new Republic.

"Frenchmen! A further effort is needed if you would be republicans!"—thus begin his grand manifesto, which is worth reading in English because Sade reads better in translation. A new government would necessitate a new way of living, a thorough revision of one's duties towards the Supreme Being, one's fellow men, oneself. Liberty: with the shackles of absurd religion fallen, there was no question of duties to a myth. As for the duties which connect man with his fellows, "it is a fearful injustice to expect men of different temperament to bow to the same laws"; laws should be so mild, so few, that even a man of the peculiar tastes of the *ci-devant* Marquis de Sade would not be encumbered with them. Rather the State ought to provide the means for satisfying the natural inclination of everybody, with the institution of "various health establishments, where all sexes, all ages, all creatures possible will be offered to the caprices of the libertines who wish pleasure." Moreover, in a society which had equality for device, theft, which tends to redistribute wealth, is not a great evil, rather the other way. Not the thief, but he who has been robbed, the nation ought to punish, in order to teach him to guard his property. And was not Fraternity written in the Republican badge? Very well, says Sade, "I dare affirm that incest should be the rule under any government based on fraternity." Did not everybody all round want to imitate the Greek republicans? Yes, one ought to imitate their sexual habits, argued the *ci-devant*; sodomy with the Greeks was a heroic virtue. The

Thermopylae were defended by sodomites. The whole appeal reads like a huge parody; the entire work of Sade, with its unspeakable atrocities, seems to follow the grim tradition of Swift's *Modest Proposal*; but unintentionally so, because Sade firmly believed in the voice of Nature, and for him all men who listened to that voice were wise, and those who stifled it were fools.

Now men can be differently classified as wise or fool according to the point of view; for the Holy Fathers those who postponed heavenly bliss to earthly enjoyment were fools; for Sade, for whom no God existed (and Simone de Beauvoir is right in seeing in him a genuine atheist), nor the remotest inkling of Kant's categorical imperative either, the whole history of civilized humanity was a mistake, and one had to revert to the condition of holy Nature. Nature taught destruction, murder, sexual promiscuity: and so far Sade was right. But had not the theory of original sin allowed for this?

And was not the whole history of humanity an effort just to overcome that chaotic state of nature in order to create a liveable society? Sade would have us revert to private revenge for murder, to prostitution of boys and girls, to inbreeding, et cetera, stages and practices still instanced by primitive peoples, which mankind had had to discard if it wanted to subsist. The eighteenth century, through the work of Sade, saw the *reductio ad absurdum* of the return to Nature; because all the progress of man has consisted in getting further and further away from Nature, in creating an artificial ethical state, in evolving a new standard of values, as artificial as a city is artificial in comparison with the swamp which originally occupied the site. In his defective, unbalanced inner self, Sade was just a throw-back as most abnormal people and criminals are; he though he was brandishing the torch of reason, it was only a searchlight into the remote den of the early stages of man.

And here is the connecting link between this isolated man, this curious relic of a buried and forgotten pre-history, and the humanity of his day and of today. His writings are like the obscene scrawl one reads on a wall with the secret innuendo: "Hypocrite lecteur,—mon semblable,—mon frère!" Because which of us has not been Sade once in his dreams? So that the deep caves and subterranean passage-ways of the inaccessible castles in which Sade's

heroes stage their preposterous orgies are more than a symbol of his own "apartness," of the isolation of his obsessive images; they are actually the symbol of the cave-man whose voice can be faintly heard in every Mr. Earwicker's dream language, whose actions can any moment, in the very midst of a civilized metropolis, startle us, in an imaginary Mr. Hyde or in a real Mr. Christie. And that is why notwithstanding his monotony, his lack of the detachment needed to recreate reality and of skill in telling his tall stories, his pitiable clichés and "philosophical" platitudes, Sade can be hailed as a unique writer and great moralist who, in a different way than he thought, "has contributed to the progress of enlightenment"; he has torn the web of abstractions painfully wrought by man through aeons, and presented him with a distorted mirror, which still contains his disturbing authentic image.

The present volume, besides containing Simone de Beauvoir's illuminating essay, supplies a good selection which does not shy at scabrous passages; the section from *Juliette* (the most objectionable passages are given in the original French) will be enough to illustrate that strange quality of Sade ("he conceives the free act as an act free of all feeling") which makes him curiously modern, if one thinks of Schoenberg's atonal method, the perfectly empty musical construction of the hero of Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus* (another devil, by the way).

MARIO PRAZ

A FROSTED GLASS

IN THE PAST DECADE, Westerners have had to rely increasingly on the printed word for knowledge of Russian society. Officially conducted tours, when permitted, have been notoriously unsatis-

THROUGH THE GLASS OF SOVIET LITERATURE, edited by Ernest J. Simmons (Columbia; \$4.50).

factory; friendship between Soviet citizens and foreigners has been brutally discouraged; the testimony of displaced persons, while valuable, must be handled with extreme caution; and field trips by Western social scientists have been out of the question.

As a substitute for first-hand observation, we have been forced to turn to

close and constant analysis of Soviet utterances in newspapers, periodicals and books. These restricted media must, of course, be approached with informed skepticism. Even with their manifold limitations, however, Soviet publications, in the hands of trained experts, provide surprisingly rich material for the study of contemporary Russia.

The present collection of six essays is a brilliant example of what can be done. An outgrowth of Professor Simmons' seminars in Soviet literature at the Russian Institute of Columbia, the book is grounded in great amounts of careful, sober and dispassionate research in wide areas of Russian culture.

Three of these studies are of chiefly sociological interest. Outstanding among them is the essay by Louise E. Luke, "Marxian Woman: Soviet Variants," which traces changes in the social role, behavior and attitudes of Russian women from 1917 to 1936, as reflected in the prose fiction and plays of that period. The method is colorful and penetrating. Shrewdly balancing the evidence of dozens of Soviet heroines against the achievements claimed by official propaganda, and examining the whole in the light of the ideal conditions for the emancipation of women as stipulated by Engels and Marx, Miss Luke illuminates a fundamental and continuing problem of Russian society with wisdom and compassion. Bernard J. Choseed chronicles the evolution of the image of the Jew in literature since the revolution, examines governmental policy affecting Jewish life, and concludes that the "national" elements of Jewish culture are gradually being extinguished by the "socialist" element of Soviet culture. His evidence, however, will not support the recently widespread charges of official anti-Semitism. Gene Sosin analyzes the development of the children's theater as an instrument of political agitation and ideological indoctrination.

The three remaining studies focus more specifically on questions of literature and ideology. In the introductory essay, Professor Simmons shows how the role of the Communist Party in literary affairs has changed from timid uncertainty in the twenties to iron repression in the fifties. This presentation of the record of increased ideological controls is indispensable for an understanding of the book as a whole. "The Case of Zoshchenko," by Rebecca A.

Domar, dramatizes the tragic impact of Party controls on the career of the Soviet Union's most gifted satirist. The concluding essays, by Robert M. Hankin, is a sharp and profound analysis of postwar trends in Soviet ideology, particularly as it concerns literary scholarship.

At a time when the problem of understanding the Soviet Union is becoming progressively more complex and delicate, the type of scholarly ingenuity which produced this book is invaluable. Furthermore, it makes for absorbing reading.

DEMING BROWN

CRITICAL PREJUDICES

TECHNICALLY Sir Desmond MacCarthy was a critic. For many years he did his weekly stint for the *New Statesman* and, later, the *Sunday Times*. But he never entertained a theory of literature. He merely had likes and dislikes, a sound classical training at Eton and Cambridge, and "fifty years of great houses, grand dinners and large intimate luncheons where Henry James, George

MEMORIES, by Desmond MacCarthy (Oxford; \$3.50).

Moore, Arthur Balfour, Augustine Birrell shone like red suns."

He also had a style, formed at Cambridge and by contact with his Bloomsbury friends. He could write prose strong enough to have satisfied Johnson and suave enough to have pleased Landor, both of whom he admired this side idolatry. It is probable that Sir Desmond was the last of the line of moral critics which leads back to Addison. Though he lived into the age of Eliot and Richards and Leavis, he seems to have been only dimly aware of their existence and of the transformations in critical method which they were effecting in the twenties and thirties.

It is significant that MacCarthy wrote little about poetry and that he should say, in an essay on W. H. Davies: "It seems to me a dubious bargain to lose a Keats to gain a Pound, to surrender a Coleridge to find a Flint, to exchange a Milton even for an Eliot." Being himself an artist in prose, he understood thoroughly the strengths and limitations of Strachey, Galsworthy, Maugham, Kipling, and Wells. He could even appreciate the ad-

vances made by Joyce, because Joyce was a writer of prose.

Several of these essays make up a kind of friendship's garland. Everyone, it seems, liked Sir Desmond. In his presence Hardy, Max Beerbohm, Wilfrid Blunt, and Lytton Strachey, men not ordinarily given to talking about themselves, let down the barriers and talked freely. What is preserved here of their conversations is illuminating. Together with the witty "A Memoir of Youth" (MacCarthy's Eton years), they are the fragments of an autobiography we should have had.

The best of MacCarthy's formal essays are of two kinds. When it was his not unpleasant duty to deflate a reputation, he took pains to be scrupulous, precise, and thorough. When he was writing about an author he admired and whom in some ways he resembled (e.g. Leslie Stephen), he searched for motives and influences, unaware, probably, of how much he was incidentally telling about himself. In these two sorts of essays we enjoy the careful judgment, the fine Latinity of phrase, and, most of all, the sudden epigrammatic summing-up. These shots always hit the target. Thus Bennett is transfixed in a sentence: "He could move rapidly in any direction he wished without waiting for the breath of inspiration; he could make progress without tacking." It requires a few more thrusts to pierce Galsworthy's well-buckled armor.

He yielded to the desire to have things both ways; to champion passion, for instance, yet call it Love of Beauty. . . . He wanted to envisage the struggle [in *The Forsyte Saga*] as one between Beauty and Possessiveness. It made it nobler. But he would have done "Beauty" and incidentally drawn his artist-rebels, far better if he had recognized the real nature of the struggle—possessiveness versus sex.

WILLARD THORP

SOME RECENT NOVELS

THE SPEAKER is Hemingway in *Death in the Afternoon*, the passage what should be one of the *foci* in modern writing about writing:

A great enough writer seems to be born with knowledge. But he really is not. . . . There are some things which cannot be learned quickly and time, which is all we have, must be paid heavily for their acquiring. . . . Every novel which is truly written contributes to the total of knowledge which is there at the disposal of the

next writer who comes, but the next writer must pay, always, a certain nominal percentage in experience to be able to understand and accumulate what is available as his birthright and what he must, in time, take his departure from. . . .

The important phrases are "pay, always, a certain nominal percentage in experience" and "take his departure from." Every good writer starts from experience, goes into imitation, finally absorbs his ancestors.

Paul Darcy Boles' first novel, *The Streak*, shows that he has paid a nominal percentage in experience for what he knows about automobiles and those who race them. His Italian hero, Tagli, knows car racing as well as Hemingway's matadors know bull-fighting and experiences

THE STREAK, by Paul Darcy Boles (Macmillan; \$3). THE BRIDGES OF TOKORI, by James A. Michener (Random House; \$2.50). THE GOOD-FOR-NOTHING, by James Yaffe (Atlantic—Little, Brown; \$3.50).

with much the same intensity, Start Mr. Boles' novel and you'll finish it even if you feel as I did and still somewhat do that auto-racing is nonsense. You'll finish because Mr. Boles writes as well as and almost exactly like Hemingway.

Take a passage anywhere in *The Streak*:

Now there was nothing to do, nothing to think about like the condition of the Genoese track, like that brute of a bastard to top all bastards they cut through the mountains, real mountains. . . . The air so clear out here, and the limousine-bus with its slick, awful blackness eating up the road . . . , and the flowers alongside the road in the bush grass rich and scarlet, then the trees beginning further along.

If Hemingway happened to equate danger with auto-racing, I don't think he'd be ashamed of this passage of this novel. The trouble is that Mr. Boles' reproduction is too exact. Even the philosophy that none lives life up to the hilt like a bull-fighter (only here of course it's an auto-racer) is the fundamental theme and the characters are like those from *The Sun Also Rises* changed slightly but written about in the same way. Mr. Boles has great talent, but I hope he can become something different if not better than the good master he so precisely imitates.

Mr. Michener is a less gifted and less derivative follower of the same master.

Sentence after sentence reminds us of this: "It was strange, and in some perverse way resolutely American, that these two carriers wallowing in the dusk bore names which memorialized not stirring victories but humiliating defeats. . . ." However, Mr. Michener has not only a different subject (jet-pilots in Korea), but a considerably different attitude about it. His point, I gather, in his usually convincing, always readable tale of flyers who sacrificed themselves with reluctant bravery, is that the Korean War was a special international holocaust that meant a lot for the living who pay no more attention to the casualty lists than to statistics generally.

With Mr. Michener's point I agree fully. With his art I do not. In this his fifth book, he still has not learned to go much deeper than what the sophisticated public can be presumed to want and expect nor has he discovered how to make ideas stem naturally from the lives of his people. Sure, his pilots are good Americans and two-dimensional human beings, yet what they do and feel and say sounds too frequently more like the Voice of America than fine art.

Especially since Mr. Yaffe's *The Good-For-Nothing* is the first novel and second book of a man in his mid-twenties, I should like to abandon myself to uncritical enthusiasm. Mr. Yaffe writes about "upper-middle class Jewish people whose parents have come from Europe," and he does so well that he suggests Yorkshiremen to a London *Times* critic and Gentile Kentuckians to me. As he is a most original writer, it's hard to suggest his quality. To put it tentatively; his subject is the clan-family that tries to dominate the individual for his own betterment and never succeeds or fails completely; his tone is sympathetic, critical, and humorous; his theme is the sad acceptance of group necessity that can become almost joyful when it is accompanied by comprehension.

The novel is misnamed, I think. Leo, the good-for-nothing who presumably causes Norman Kramer's problems, is realized more as caricature than as character. The true center of the book and the book's eye is Norman, the too good brother and son and nephew who becomes almost bad because he loves (sometimes) the misery he encourages others to thrust upon him. The portrait of Norman is a masterpiece of irony, pity, psychological penetration, and, yes, admiration. *The Good-For-Nothing* is also excellent because of its humorous,

kindly portrayal of the quiet Mr. Goldhill, the sad millionaire from Omaha; of Uncle Myron, the big-shot who reluctantly accepts the world he lies in; of Aunt Ruth, who overrides anyone she can to conceal her own half-recognized emptiness. Mr. Yaffe's little, perfectly created universe suggests the big one; his characters' problems those of Western civilization. If he continues to grow, and I am sure he will, he may become one of our most important writers.

HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER

BRIEFLY NOTED

THE ATTACK, by R. H. Tawney (Harcourt, Brace; \$4.50).

This collection of essays, written over 35 years, is certainly not to be included among Tawney's major works, but it is not judicious to rank as minor anything that comes from his hand. Some of the pieces included are dated, and some—as for instance the long admonition to the Labor party—are parochial, but one that is decidedly dated and two that are decidedly parochial are small masterpieces that no lover of the essay should miss.

The title piece, "The Attack", was written in 1916, when Tawney was recovering from wounds received in France. It is a superb description of war as it is seen by a man in the ranks. Without a doubt it speaks for the men now in Korea, as it speaks for the men who were at Gettysburg and Waterloo, and probably for those who were at Canaan and Arbela. It is frankly a vignette, but in its kind it has seldom been surpassed.

The essay on Beatrice Webb and the one on the two Webbs and their work are both addressed primarily to an English audience, and in that sense may fairly be described as having a local flavor. But they are brilliant. Here is Tawney the historian of large canvases working on a pair of minatures and converting the handicap of limited space into an excuse for substituting jeweler's work for his customary brush-strokes. Perhaps the portrait of Beatrice Webb is a little too good, for the casual reader may be inclined to think that after this a full-length biography of the subject is hardly worth while.

These three are the items that raise the volume to distinction, although Tawney's view on education and on religion in a capitalistic society are far weightier. He has, however, expressed

them more fully and more cogently in his larger works, so these essays are most valuable to readers unfamiliar with this thinker. They give only a partial view of Tawney, but better a partial view than no acquaintance at all.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

THE KREMLIN VS. THE PEOPLE, by Robert Magidoff (Doubleday; \$3.50).

This book makes a useful contribution to the study of Communist totalitarianism. It emphasizes the kind of paranoiac logic with which Stalinism has imposed its view of life upon the peoples under its control, so that any fact running counter to Communist theory must be dismissed as illusion and any force which might threaten the dominance of the ruling bureaucracy can only be destroyed. And this book therefore points to gloomy conclusions about the possibility that the Soviet and the Western worlds can ever achieve mutual understanding or work out any method of co-existence.

Russian-born but American-educated, Mr. Magidoff lived in the Soviet Union as a newspaperman from 1936 to 1948. His purpose is to examine the methods by which the Stalinist bureaucracy retains its control over the Russian people and the extent to which this involves continuous force and persecution. His main conclusion is that the bureaucracy can never afford to come to terms with the West since it can maintain and justify its power only by representing the rest of the world as hostile and perpetuating the myth of capitalist encirclement.

Thus the attempt of the Roosevelt administration to win Soviet confidence and co-operation was destined to failure from the outset. Mr. Magidoff has no important revelations to make, and most of what he says will be already familiar to students of Soviet affairs; but he has done a useful reportorial job, and concludes with the remainder that the American people cannot hold Communism in check unless they preserve unimpaired their own tradition of civil liberty.

HENRY BAMFORD PARKES

Notes on the Critics

MARIO PRAZ is the author of *The Romantic Irony*. DEMING BROWN is on the faculty of Northwestern University. WILLARD THORP is a professor at Princeton. HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER teaches at the University of Louisville. HENRY BAMFORD PARKES has just published a history of the United States.

From Our Readers

► Jim Crow: D. C.

On behalf of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the D. C. Anti-Discrimination Laws, I wish to add a footnote to your story on the end of discrimination in Washington restaurants (Exit Softly: Jim Crow, July 27).

The story says that since the Supreme Court decision of June 8, we have received no complaints. Actually, we have received four, which we are currently investigating. Through the weekly colored press, we have learned of four others, making an average of at least one possible violation a week of the anti-discrimination law since the Supreme Court declared it valid.

us involves a mid-city private club which operates a restaurant in its basement. Our investigation indicates a probable violation of the law and we intend to bring charges against the club shortly. Before the decision, we understand, the club's restaurant was open freely to the general public. A few days after the decision, according to a sworn affidavit we have obtained, the club instituted a system of admission to the restaurant by membership card. Two white members of our committee went to the club for lunch and were issued special "Guest" passes, without charge and good for an indefinite period. Two colored members, who tried to get into the restaurant a few days later, were turned away because they were not members and had no guest cards.

Two other complaints involve threats of physical violence that restaurant owners made to colored customers whom they served. The last complaint was against a mid-city hotel that told a young colored couple to leave, after a quiet wait of half an hour, because they were creating a disturbance.

So far the evidence of discrimination in the incidents reported to us (with the exception of the private club situation) or in the incidents we have read about, has not been conclusive enough to warrant formal action against a restaurant owner.

The only complaint that resulted in a formal hearing before the Corporation Counsel of the District had to be dismissed when the complainant failed to appear. The committee checked this restaurant recently, and found it was serving.

All this, of course, does not contradict the main point of your story: that the great majority of restaurants in the District are complying with the law and serve graciously and without comment.

What these incidents do indicate, though, is that those of us who worked to

have the lost laws re-established cannot rest. It is up to us to keep an eye on possible violators and see that the law is stringently enforced.

MARVIN CAPLAN

Washington, D. C. Publicity Chairman

► Pliny and the Christians

Something struck me as not quite right in your translation and editorial comment on Pliny's letter on the Christians. After looking in my old edition of Westcott's *Letters of Pliny*, I take the liberty of making the following points which you might like to check into:

1. Pliny was Governor of Bithynia about 110 A.D., which would be the second not the first century A.D.

2. Contrary to your editorial heading, Pliny, I think, did not mean to give the impression that he thought persecution brought about the spread of Christianity. I gather you derive this mainly from the second sentence of the second paragraph: "But the crime is (sic) spreading (as is usually the case) while it was actually under prosecution, several instances of the same nature occurred." The Latin reads "Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine, plures species inciderunt." Westcott points out his note to the Latin text that the thought here is that by reason of the cognizance or treatment of the crime by the government, informers were encouraged to bring more cases forward. The translation, somewhat inelegant, would be: "Soon, as usually happens, simply from the matter being dealt with (the crime being widespread), more cases came up." Perhaps I am not giving the full force to the Latin "diffundente se crimine" which may mean that the "crime was spreading," but the important casual relation in the sentence is that government treatment gave rise to more cases being brought up, rather than that the treatment brought about the spread of Christianity. (The new cases included Christians of twenty years before!)

3. Also, contrary to the implication of your heading, Pliny did not think a general pardon was wiser as a check. He was only interested in whether he should not punish those who had *repented*, since if they were once Christians, they had technically committed a crime. I do not believe Pliny had the notion that the way to handle Christians who were still Christians was to pardon them or to ignore them or permit them their views and in that way they would come back to right thinking and Christianity would thus be checked. Pliny's idea was to prohibit and persecute and, if the victims recanted, to let them come back to the fold. His idea was more in line with the philosophy of the Inquisition.

Silver Spring, Md.

ELY MAURER

► The Bishop Stood His Ground

I would like to express my appreciation for your excellent article entitled "The Bishop Stood His Ground" (NR, Aug. 3).

For one who has accused your magazine of following an anti-Catholic line (in a previous letter of June 1), I feel it imperative, in light of this definitely pro-Catholic article, to apologize for my rashness. I now realize how unfair my accusation was in that I took an opinion of T. R. B. as being representative of the *New Republic's* policy toward Catholicism.

Thank you again for carrying Mr. Davis' fine article.

Hartford, Conn.

DONALD J. KEHOE

► The NR

I can't resist a word of heartiest congratulations on just about everything these days in the *New Republic*. Messrs. Walton Hamilton and Stuart got me to subscribe when you first started, about 1917, when I was in college. Since then I have blown hot and cold and lukewarm. For years you seemed to me to be inexcusably dogmatic in your anti-religious secularism, and I dropped you cold when Wallace came on board. But of late you seem to me to be really exemplary in your liberalism. I could elaborate, but won't. Your last issue (Aug. 3) was absolute tops—T. R. B. right through the reviews.

New Haven, Conn. THEODORE M. GREENE

► "Limelight"

Here in Houston the censorship question has cropped up again in connection with a second attempt to exhibit Chaplin's *Limelight*.

A few months ago *Limelight* opened at the theatre in our highly expensive "River Oaks" residential section. People came to see it from as far as 200 miles away. However, due to protest from the American Legion it was withdrawn after a three-day run.

Recently *Limelight* opened at the Academy Theatre, owned by a small group of local people interested in showing better movies. The next day the Legion met to decide on further action.

The following day Jesse Jones's *Chronicle*, Houston's most widely read newspaper, carried a story under a two-column head: "Legion Promises to Renew Battle Over *Limelight*." In the same paper the Academy ran a statement:

... Because we believe that in response to hundreds of requests which we have received ... that no group, however sincere, will again prohibit Houston from forming its own opinion of this most controversial film. ...

Aware as we are that there will be those of you who feel wronged, we ask that you

To Our Readers

Most Americans who watched him tearing into men who had betrayed the public trust will remember Charles Tobey as one of God's angry men. But those who were enriched by his friendship will remember him also as one of the sweetest and humblest men who graced public life in these harsh days. They will echo the words of Arthur Rotch who wrote in the *Milford Cabinet*: "We in his home neighborhood loved Charles Tobey. Better than any others we knew his vast capacity for honest neighborly friendship."

Men bred to cynicism scoffed at Tobey as the relic of a chivalrous age. Surely they were mistaken. Not only his absolute integrity, and his courage, but his basic approach to government made him the one kind of public servant to whom our democracy can turn during years in which a nation deeply divided cannot master the responsibilities that world peace entrusts to America.

For while Tobey understood the necessity of party politics he saw beyond its limited horizons. He was an ardent Republican, but always his commitment to his own conscience came first. He never welcomed McCarthy as a party asset. He strode among Republicans damning McCarthy as a menace to America. He believed passionately in Eisenhower. Yet he argued passionately with Eisenhower to keep on key officials who were liberals. When the President protested that some were Democrats, Tobey replied that parties were less important than men. In the same spirit when Estes Kefauver arrived to campaign in the 1952 New Hampshire primary and found himself without a car Tobey promptly lent him his own Chevrolet. Republican stalwarts protested and Tobey answered: "In matters of this kind we make no distinction between Democrats and Republicans. We are all friends."

He acted on impulse and all his impulses were generous. He never stopped to consider what was politically wise; he did what he believed was right, and in the end the two were the same.

When the *NR* wanted two men to write to our readers who stood above all others for independence and integrity, we turned to Charles Tobey and Paul Douglas. Both faced criticism if they signed an appeal for the *NR*. Both acted without hesitation. Tobey recalled with pride his friendship for Herbert Croly. Entirely on his own, he sent another letter to the *NR*. It was a wonderful letter, and we printed it on the back cover of the July 27 issue. He read it with delight on the day before he died.

M. S.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 22)

join us in enabling those who wish, to see the film which *Life*, *Time*, *Look* and the film contests of the world have named the masterwork of the only genius the film industry has produced. Whatever the wrongs of the man, these wrongs are not a part of his art. . . .

So far, *Limelight* is still showing at the Academy.

Houston, Texas

SELWYN JONES

► Wayne Morse

Just back from vacation I sat down with the back copies of the *New Republic* that had come in. One of the many articles I enjoyed was by Sen. Wayne Morse (July 6, "My Personal Declaration of Independence"). McCarthy-fighting Herbert Lehman and Wayne Morse are my favorite Senators. Even before he made his famous switch from Republican to Independent and from Eisenhower to Stevenson I watched the ways of this man from Oregon. Just as my teen-age daughter is "gone" on crooner Eddie Fisher, I belong to Wayne Morse, body and soul. Well, not entirely, for I feel that he has pulled his punches on the heel from Wisconsin. Otherwise, I wish there were 95 more Wayne Morses in the Senate. . . .

Mount Vernon, N. Y.

ALLEN KLEIN

Bandwagon

Roaring down the track in his bullet-shaped racer was only part of Ronald S. Kathol's thrill in competing in the Soap Box Derby yesterday. . . .

Ronald, 12 . . . decided to dress up his racer with a Civil Defense sticker because his mother is a local officer.

When the Pasadena Civil Defense office heard of it, they said he'd have to sign a loyalty oath, and so Ronald went down to the City Hall and assured officials that never, in his 12 years, had he been a member of the Communist Party. — *From the Los Angeles Daily News, July 25, 1953.*

People denounce newspapers for "slanting" the news. The *Chicago Tribune* is perhaps the daily most widely accused of this practice.

The first thing to say with reference to "slanting" news is that Colonel McCormick, or any other publisher or any other individual, has a guaranteed right to slant the news. All politicians do it every day. — *From Editor and Publisher, July 18, 1953.*

A new conception of the Presidency is beginning to emerge. The outline is still amorphous, and the pressure of events may dwarf the concept short of fulfillment; but the idea, as explained by a senior Presidential advisor is about like this:

"The chief reason why the White House lost dignity is that through the last 20 years it become an operating branch of the government." — *From Fortune, July, 1953.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — THE EDITORS.

RESORT

MERIEWOOD

FOR ADULTS • HIGHLAND LAKE • STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation • Enjoy beautiful 10-mile Lake • All Land and Water Sports, featuring Water-Skiing and Excellent Tennis • Arts & Crafts, Square & Folk Dancing Instruction • Planned Evening Entertainment • Congenial Crowd • Non-Sectarian.

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Send for Picture Folder B Phone: Hancock 98 Ring 13

MAGAZINE

"HOW TO BE SANE THOUGH NEGRO"—lead article on psychology of minority groups in current issue of *ETC.*, official quarterly journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms limit thought, behavior. \$4 year; trial issue \$1. Write *Etc.*, Dept. 22, 539 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

Coming in next week's

NEW REPUBLIC

Another Voice from Germany

"Our Common Concerns"

by Eric Ollenhauer

The leader of Germany's second largest party in the first major statement of the Social Democratic viewpoint to be published in the United States.

Read it in
next week's *NR*

MEMBERSHIPS ARE NOW OPEN AGAIN IN STORY CLASSICS . . . THE UNIQUE BOOK CLUB WHOSE VOLUMES HAVE WON TOP AWARDS YEAR AFTER YEAR . . . AND PRAISE FROM CRITICS

AWARDS

The American Institute of Graphic Arts has each year since the inception of the Club selected a STORY CLASSICS volume for its distinguished "Fifty Books of the Year" exhibitions.

THE BOOK CLINIC, AMIGA:

. . . picked each of the following as one of the five handsomest books produced in its respective month of publication: Merimee, Alacron, Jerrold, Longfellow.

BOOKS BY OFFSET LITHOGRAPHY:

. . . selected the Jerrold for its annual exhibition — one of the few books in its class to be so honored.

CRITICS SAY

NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW:

"A kind of book club that escapes the apparent evils of the clubs . . . doing those rarely come-by, out-of-the-way volumes that are a delight to the reading palate, as well as to the eye."

CHICAGO SUNDAY TRIBUNE:

"The books are collectors' items. Each is a masterpiece of the book designers' art. The true lover of books will rejoice even more to find that the material is worth its superb dress."

LOS ANGELES MIRROR:

"Few books have been printed with so much care and forethought. . . Any booklover would be proud to own them."

Story Classics is a unique publishing venture which, since 1948, has issued some of the most beautiful books known to the printing world.

Each volume of STORY CLASSICS contains from ten to eighteen full-page color illustrations, and all have hand-lettered title pages, chapter heads, and other decorations, frequently requiring as many as five separate printings. Each book has been individually designed by the country's leading typographers, printed in from two to four colors on fine paper made especially for these editions, exquisitely bound by expert craftsmen and stamped in pure 23-karat gold and expensive pigment leaf, and finally, each volume is encased for its protection in a sturdy harmonizing slipcase.

Little-known masterpieces by famous authors including Merimee, Wilkie Collins, Turgenev, Alphonse Daudet, Lafcadio Hearn, Anthony Hope, Cervantes, Thackeray, Zangwill, Wilde, Stevenson can now be yours in exquisite limited editions.

the price is surprisingly low

STORY CLASSICS was founded by a noted industrialist, J. I. Rodale, with a passion for beauty in books. Profit has not been the sole

motivation for this Club, its goal being to make beautiful books available at a price all book lovers can afford. Thus it costs you only \$4.25 (plus 12¢ postage) for each STORY CLASSICS volume. By paying in advance you receive a 10% discount, making your cost only \$3.83 (plus 12¢ postage) for this introductory book.

how to join the STORY CLASSICS CLUB

You start by ordering the title noted on the form below, a typical example of STORY CLASSICS artistry. Thereafter you choose your own titles from the detailed list that will accompany your initial volume.

why you should act now

This is a limited editions project. No more than 3,000 individuals can ever possess a STORY CLASSICS title, since the type is melted after this small quantity has been printed. Connoisseurs of the best in books all over the world are regular subscribers. This limits still further the number of any one title available to new subscribers. We urge you to fill in and mail the form below at once—and you can do so without risk or obligation under our guarantee.

Story Classics

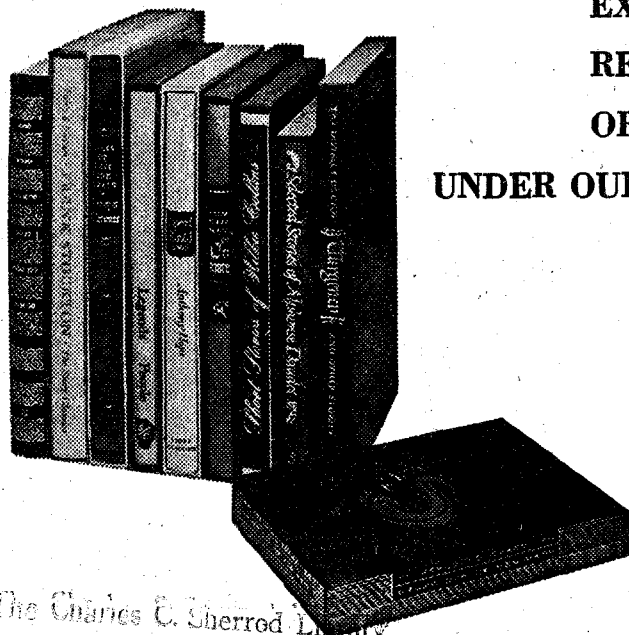
START NOW . . . WITH ONE BOOK . . .

EXAMINE ITS BEAUTY, SAMPLE ITS

READING PLEASURE!

ORDER TODAY, WITHOUT RISK,

UNDER OUR MONEY BACK GUARANTEE!



STORY CLASSICS, Box 5, New Republic,
230 W. 41st St., New York 36, N. Y.

☐ Send me immediately Tales of Love and Death by Prosper Merimee, illustrated with eighteen drawings in color. It is understood that if I am not satisfied, I may return the book within 10 days for full refund.

☐ I enclose payment of \$3.95, taking advantage of the introductory 10% discount. ☐ I will pay \$4.37 upon receipt of the book.

☐ Send without obligation your free illustrated brochure giving full details.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED